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OF

THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY THE

REV. G. RAWLINSON, M. A.

CAMDEN PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY, OXFORD.

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EVANGELICAL
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

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EVANGELICAL
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

PREFATORY TO THE AMERICAN EDITION.

THIS volume is one of the recent publications of the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," so well known for its activity in England. It has already passed there through repeated editions in the short time since its appearance. Rev. George Rawlinson, Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford, is well known as the author of our ablest works relating to the old Asiatic monarchies connected with Jewish history and occupying so prominent a place in the Old Testament. A work like the present, from such a source and so approved elsewhere, deserves republication here. The book gives us the results (yet duly authenticated by appropriate references) rather than the processes of scholarship, and thus brings the important questions with which it deals within the reach of all intelligent readers.

UNITED THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
MAR 10 1901

During the last fifty years, and especially the latter part of this period, we have entered on a new epoch of Biblical knowledge and illustration. Cities that for ages lay buried in ruins have been disinterred. The pyramids have broken their long silence and spoken to us. The Assyrian inscriptions, which go back to the age of the earliest patriarchs, have been read, and have yielded up their hidden meaning. Papyri, as old as the Hebrew Exodus, by the aid of modern science have been deciphered. Geographical explorations, more or less complete, have been made in all parts of the Holy Land, enabling us to judge of the accuracy with which the sacred writers speak of the relative situation of cities and villages, and of the scenery and agricultural or nomadic adaptations of this singular country, so diversified in its aspects and characteristics.

It is the object of Professor Rawlinson's "Historical Illustrations of the Old Testament," to state to us within a brief compass the results of this cross-questioning of such witnesses "from the dead," and show us how fully within the limits of such a comparison

their testimony supports the truthfulness and credibility of the Old Testament records.

It is hoped that the few additions which the Editor has made in the body of the work and in the Appendices will be found to harmonize with the author's design, and may prove acceptable to the reader. These additions are distinguished from the original text by brackets, or the writer's initial. With that exception this edition is a scrupulous reprint of the English work, both in form and contents.

H. B. H.

Rochester Theological Seminary, *May*, 1873.

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EVANGELICAL
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS

OF THE

OLD TESTAMENT.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE Religion of the Bible, unlike almost all other religions, has its roots in the region of Fact. Other religious systems are, in the main, ideal, being the speculations of individual minds, or the gradual growth of a nation's fanciful thought during years or centuries. The Religion of the Bible, though embracing much that is in the highest sense ideal, grounds itself upon accounts, which claim to be historical, of occurrences that are declared to have actually taken place upon the earth. That Jesus Christ was born under Herod the Great, at Bethlehem; that He came forward as a Teacher of religion; that He preached and taught, and performed many "mighty works"

Historic character of Biblical Religion.

in Galilee, Samaria, and Judæa during the space of some years; that He was crucified by Pontius Pilate; that He died and was buried; that He rose again from the dead, and ascended before the eyes of his disciples into heaven, — these are the most essential points, the very gist and marrow of the New Testament. And these are all matters of simple fact.[1] And, as with the New Testament, so, or still more strikingly, with the Old. Creation, the Paradisaical state, the Fall, the Flood, the Dispersion of Nations, the Call of Abraham, the Deliverance out of Egypt, the Giving of the Law on Sinai, the conquest of Palestine, the establishment of David's kingdom, the Dispersion of Israel, the Captivity of Judah, the return under Ezra and Nehemiah, — all these are of the nature of actual events, objective facts occurring at

1 * We are not dependent, therefore, on Christian writers and apologists for our knowledge of the main facts of Christ's life (his birth, claims, teachings, reputed miracles, crucifixion), but learn them from contemporary heathen and Jewish writers (Josephus, Tacitus, Pliny, Suetonius), just as we learn any other historical facts. Yet, on the other hand, we are not to regard the testimony of such heathen witnesses as more satisfactory than that of the early Christian martyrs who renounced heathenism and embraced the Gospel (Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, Justin Martyr); for that is to treat them as less worthy of credence, just because they found the Christian evidences so strong as to be compelled to act upon them at the expense of all possible worldly advantages. Some writers on the Christian evidences really fall into that inconsistency. — H.

definite times and in definite places, conditioned, like other facts, perceptible to sense, and fitted to be the subject of historic record.

It is this feature of our religion, so markedly characteristic of it, that brings it into contact with historic science, and renders it at once liable to be tested by the laws and canons of historical criticism, and capable of receiving illustration from historic sources. The Scriptural writers, as a general rule, deal, not with doctrines, but with occurrences. The very Prophetic Books have a historic form, and bristle with dates and with the names of contemporary personages. The revelation given to us may, as Butler observes,[1] "be considered as wholly historical." It "contains a kind of abridgment of the history of the world." Though mainly concerned with the religious condition of mankind, it embraces also "an account of the political state of things," giving us "a continual thread of history" of the length of several thousand years. These circumstances permit a comparison between Scriptural and profane history; between the sacred records which are inseparably intertwined with our religion, and the accumulated stores of merely

Hence, a contact between the Bible and profane history.

[1] *Analogy*, part ii. c. vii. pp. 310, 311 (Oxford ed. of 1833).

human knowledge concerning the world's past, which have anyhow come into our possession. It will be the object of the present essay to make this comparison, so far as the Scriptures of the Old Testament are concerned. The "thread of history" contained in the earlier portion of our sacred volume will be placed side by side with that account of human affairs which purely secular history furnishes. The various points of contact between the two will be noted, and their agreement, or, if so be, their disagreement, pointed out. It is not intended to conceal or make light of difficulties; but it is believed that they will be found to be inconsiderable. In general it is thought that the harmony between the sacred and the profane will be striking, and that it will be especially evident that the most authentic sources of profane history are those which throw the clearest and brightest light on the sacred narrative. The more exact the knowledge that we obtain, by discovery or critical research, of the remote past, the closer the agreement that we find between profane and Biblical history.

Scope of the present work.

And here a remark of Butler's may well be pressed on the attention of the reader. Butler notes how the historical character of our

sacred records, and especially the great length of time which they cover, and the great extent and variety of the subjects whereof they treat, "gives the largest scope for criticism," and, if the narrative be not true, should render the task of confutation easy.[1] It is indeed inconceivable, that if the Biblical history, covering the space of time which it does, and dealing as it does with the affairs of most of the great nations of antiquity, were a fictitious narrative, modern historical science, with its searching methods and its exact and extended knowledge of the past, should not have, long ere this, demonstrated the fact, and completely overthrown the historical authority of the sacred volume. But it is not even pretended that this has been done. Attacks are made on this or that portion of the record, on names and numbers and minute expressions which it is contended are inaccurate; but no one pretends to show, as it should be easy to show, if the history is not true, that it is irreconcilably at variance with the course of mundane events as known to us from other sources. The progress of our knowledge has indeed tended very remarkably of late years in the opposite direc-

The onus of proving divergence between the Bible and profane history should rest on the adversary.

[1] *Analogy*, part ii. c. vii. p. 312.

tion. As the stores of antique lore have been unlocked, and our acquaintance with the ancient world has increased in extent, precision, and accuracy, it has become more and more apparent that such a confutation of the historical character of the sacred records is impossible. Each year adds something to the force of the opposite arguments. Discoveries, like that of the Moabite Stone,[1] are made in the most unexpected quarters. If scientific difficulties increase upon us, historical difficulties certainly lessen. Thus, although the *onus probandi* should be on our adversaries, who should be able with so much ease to prove our Books historically untrue, if they were untrue, yet the Christian Apologist may now, without presumption, enter the field himself, and apply himself to the task of confirming faith, or even dispelling doubt, by the exhibition of a harmony which seems to have reached a point that entitles it to take its place among the Evidences of Religion.

[1] * For the history of this Moabite Stone (several times mentioned in this volume) and its value as a historical witness, see Appendix No. 2. — H.

CHAPTER II.

GENESIS.

HISTORY proper cannot rightly be regarded as going back to the first origin of the human race. Of the various acts of Creation which culminated in the formation of man, there could be no human witnesses; and thus no historical illustration of the first chapter of Genesis is possible. At the utmost, such illustration must commence after the human race has been created. Even then for a considerable space of time history proper is silent. The art of embodying articulate speech in written words appears not to have been invented by man until he had lived for many centuries upon the earth; and the history of mankind was, consequently, for ages unrecorded, passing down from generation to generation by oral tradition, and, as always happens in such a case, undergoing change in the process, here being slightly modified, there almost wholly transformed, in some cases fading entirely away, and being replaced by fables, the prod-

Absence of strictly historical illustrations for the earliest times.

uct of the imagination. The earliest profane records that deserve the name of history do not reach back within two thousand years[1] of the time at which the sacred narrative commences; and, consequently, it is impossible either to test or to illustrate that narrative, in its earlier portion, by a comparison with records which for that period are not forthcoming. The utmost that can be done is to see whether among the traditions of different human races which belong to a time anterior to history proper, there are not some which point to the same facts as those recorded in Scripture, and of whose harmony with the Hebrew accounts no other origin can be reasonably assigned than the common memory of actual facts, witnessed by the ancestors of the different races.

Want partly supplied by traditions.

The first great fact in the history of mankind, as placed before us in Genesis, is the primitive innocence of our race, and its existence in a delightful region, the abode of purity and happiness, for a certain space after its creation. A remembrance of this blissful condition seems to have been

Wide-spread tradition of Paradise.

[1] This number must be taken merely as a *minimum*. The years assigned in Scripture to the patriarchs, reckoned according to the lowest account, give 2,023 years between the Creation and the call of Abraham. Profane history does not commence till about that time. The LXX. enlarge the interval to 3,279 years; and it may have been still longer.

retained among a large number of peoples. The Greeks told of a "golden age," when men lived the life of the gods, a life free from care, and without labor or sorrow. Old age was unknown; the body never lost its vigor; existence was a perpetual feast, without a taint of evil. The earth brought forth spontaneously all things that were good in profuse abundance; peace reigned, and men pursued their several employments without quarrel. Their happy life was ended by a death which had no pain, but fell upon them like a gentle sleep.[1] In the Zendavesta, Yima, the first Iranic king, lives in a secluded spot, where he and his people enjoy uninterrupted happiness. Neither sin, nor folly, nor violence, nor poverty, nor deformity have entrance into the region; nor does the Evil Spirit for a while set foot there. Amid odoriferous trees and golden pillars dwells the beautiful race, pasturing their abundant cattle on the fertile earth, and feeding on an ambrosial food which never fails them.[2] In the Chinese books we read, that "during the period of the first heaven, the whole creation enjoyed a state of happiness: everything

1 Hesiod, *Op. et D.* ll. 109–119.

2 *Vendîdâd*, Farg. ii. §§ 4–41. (See the Author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. 341, 2d ed.)

was beautiful; everything was good; all beings were perfect in their kind. In this happy age, heaven and earth employed their virtues jointly to embellish nature. There was no jarring in the elements, no inclemency in the air; all things grew without labor, and universal fertility prevailed. The active and passive virtues conspired together, without any effort or opposition, to produce and perfect the universe."[1] The literature of the Hindoos tells of a "first age of the world, when justice, in the form of a bull, kept herself firm on her four feet; virtue reigned; no good which mortals possessed was mixed with baseness; and man, free from diseases, saw all his wishes accomplished, and attained an age of four hundred years."[2] Traces of a similar belief are found among the Thibetans, the Mongolians, the Cingalese, and others. Even our own Teutonic ancestors had a glimpse of the truth; though they substituted for the "garden" of Genesis a magnificent drinking-hall, glittering with burnished gold, where the primeval race enjoyed a life of perpetual festivity, quaffing a delicious beverage from golden bowls, and interchanging with one another glad converse and loyal friendship.[3]

[1] See Faber's *Horæ Mosaicæ*, p. 146.
[2] Kalisch, *Comment on Genesis*, p. 64.
[3] *Edda*, Fab. vii.

The races which thus describe the primitive state of man have all of them a tradition of a Fall. With some the Fall is more gradual than with others. The Greeks pass by gentle degrees from the golden age of primeval man to the iron one, which is the actual condition of human kind when the first writers lived. The Hindoos, similarly, bring man, through a second and a third age, into that fourth one, which they recognize as existing in their day. But with some races the Fall is sudden. In the Edda, corruption is suddenly produced by the blandishments of strange women, who deprive men of their pristine integrity and purity. In the Thibetan, Mongolian, and Cingalese traditions, a similar result is brought about by the spontaneous development of a covetous temper. In the earliest of the Persian books, the Fall would seem to be gradual;[1] but in the later writings, which are of an uncertain date, a narrative appears which is most strikingly in accordance with that of Genesis. The first man and the first woman live originally in purity and innocence. Perpetual happiness is promised to them by Ormazd, if they persevere in their virtue. They dwell in a garden, wherein there is a tree, on whose fruit

Tradition of the Fall.

[1] *Vendidad*, Farg. i.

they feed, which gives them life and immortality. But Ahriman, the Evil Principle, envying their felicity, causes another tree to spring up in the garden, and sends a wicked spirit, who, assuming the form of a serpent, persuades them to eat its fruit, and this fruit corrupts them. Evil feelings stir in their hearts; Ahriman becomes the object of their worship instead of Ormazd; they fall under the power of demons, and become a prey to sin and misery. If we could certainly assign this narrative to a time anterior to the contact of Zoroastrianism with Judaism, it would constitute a most remarkable testimony, and as such it has been usual to adduce it.[1] But the fact that it appears only in the later books,[2] and the very *close* resemblance which it bears to the account given in Genesis, render it probable that we have here, not a primitive tradition, but an infiltration into the Persian system of religious ideas belonging properly to the Hebrews.

The part taken by the serpent, as Satan's

[1] See Kalisch, *Comment. on Genesis*, p. 63; and compare Bishop Harold Browne in the *New Commentary*, p. 48.

* Bishop Browne has there an extended note "On the Historical Character of the Temptation and the Fall." — H.

[2] The account to which Kalisch and Bishop Browne refer is contained in the *Bundehesht*, which belongs at the earliest to the first century of our era (Haug, *Ueber die Pehlewi Sprache*, p 30).

instrument in effecting the fall of man, has been regarded by many as the origin of that wide-spread dread and abhorrence in which the serpent was held, especially in the East, and of that very common symbolism by which the same noxious creature was made the special emblem of the Evil Principle. But, as it may with plausibility be argued that the instinctive antipathy of man to the animal, and its power of doing him deadly injury, sufficiently account both for the feeling and for the symbolism, the evidence on the point will not be collected in the present Essay.

The serpent.

Patriarchal longevity presents itself as one of the most striking of the facts concerning mankind which the early history of the Book of Genesis places before us. Objections are brought against it on grounds which are called scientific.[1] With these the historical illustrator has nothing to do; it is not his place to combat them, though he may feel that they cannot have any great value, as they failed to convince Haller and Buffon. It is his business to inquire how far the history or traditions of mankind confirm or invalidate the fact in question, and to place the result briefly before his readers. Now it

Tradition of primeval longevity.

[1] Bunsen, *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, vol. iv. p. 391.

is beyond a doubt that there is a large amount of consentient tradition to the effect that the life of man was originally far more prolonged than it is at present, extending to at least several hundreds of years.[1] The Babylonians, Egyptians, and Chinese exaggerated these hundreds into thousands. The Greeks and Romans, with more moderation, limited human life within a thousand or eight hundred years. The Hindoos still further shortened the term. Their books taught that in the first age of the world man was free from diseases, and live ordinarily four hundred years; in the second age the term of life was reduced from four hundred to three hundred; in the third it became two hundred; and in the fourth and last it was brought down to one hundred. So certain did the fact appear to the Chinese, that an Emperor who wrote a medical work proposed an inquiry into the reasons why the ancients attained to so much more advanced an age than the moderns.[2]

Early invention of the arts.

The early invention of the arts, recorded in Gen. iv., is in harmony with the Greek tradition, according to which Prometheus, in the infancy of our race, not only "stole fire from heaven," but taught

[1] See *Aids to Faith*, Essay vi. § 5, pp. 278, 279.

[2] Couplet, quoted by Faber, *Horæ Mosaicæ*, p. 120.

men "all the arts, helps, and ornaments of life," [1] especially the working in metals. It is in equal agreement with the Babylonian legend of Oannes, [2] who, long before the Flood, instructed the Chaldæans both in art and in science, "so that no grand discovery was ever made afterwards." And it receives confirmation from the fact that both in Egypt and in Babylonia the earliest extant remains, which go back to a time that cannot be placed long after the Flood, show signs of a tolerably advanced civilization, and particularly of the possession of metallic tools and implements.

Traditions of a Deluge among all the chief races of mankind.

The Flood described by the writer of Genesis, in his eighth chapter, is now generally allowed, even by skeptics, to have been an historical event. A few persons indeed still speak of it as a myth, and believe "all good critics" to be of their opinion; [3] but when such writers as Bunsen and Kalisch maintain the historical character of the catastrophe, the Biblical apologist may well assume that the point is conceded. He must not, however, suppose that all controversy on the subject is at an end. The dispute has merely entered upon a new

[1] Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. i. p. 68, ed. of 1862.
[2] Berosus, Fr. i. § 1.
[3] Davidson, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, vol. i. p. 187.

phase. The prevalent modern skepticism, forced by the weight of traditional evidence to allow the reality of the Noachian Deluge, makes light of it as a mere partial catastrophe, affecting only one or two races, and so as of no great consequence in the history of mankind. It is of the essence of the Biblical narrative that the Deluge was, so far as the human race was concerned, universal, — that it destroyed all men then living, except the inmates of the ark, and that the present human race is wholly descended from those inmates. The testimony of tradition has been alleged in support of the view that only some races were affected by it ; but an unprejudiced consideration of the whole evidence clearly shows that the tradition is common to all the chief divisions of the human family. That it was generally held by the Semites and the Indo-Europeans (or Aryans), is granted ;[1] but it is said to have been unknown to the Hamites, and to the Turanians. Were this true, the fact would be remarkable, and would go far to prove the assertions that have been based upon it. But the alleged fact is really the reverse of the truth. The Egyptians, the leading representatives of the Hamites, taught, "not that there had been no deluge, but that

[1] Bunsen, *Egypt*, etc., vol. iv. p. 464.

there had been several. They believed that from time to time, in consequence of the anger of the gods, the earth was visited by a terrible catastrophe. The agent of destruction was sometimes fire, sometimes water. In the conflagrations, all countries were burnt up but Egypt, which was protected by the Nile; and in the deluges, all were submerged but Egypt, where rain never fell. The last catastrophe, they said, had been a deluge,"[1] which took place about eight thousand years before the visit of Solon to Amasis. It may be true that in the recovered literature of ancient Egypt no trace appears of the belief in question; but the force of this negative argument is far too slight to invalidate the positive testimony of Plato.[2]

[* The history of a general inundation, as related in the Mahâbhârata and other Indian Asiatic writings, affords an unmistakable agreement with the Mosaic writings. In the translation of a part of that work out of the Sanskrit, the eminent orientalist, Prof. Bopp, states the substance of the story as follows: "The Lord of creatures, Brahmâ, the highest

[1] See Plato, *Timæus*, p. 21; and compare *Aids to Faith*, Essay vi. § 2, pp. 265, 266.

[2] * For additional reasons for thinking that the Egyptians had a knowledge of Noah's Flood, see note of Mr. Burgess in the Amer. ed. of Smith's *Bible Dict.* vol. i. p. 2187. — H.

existence, appeared to a pious king named Manus, and announced to him the impending deluge, which was to destory everything. He commanded him to build a ship and in the time of danger to enter it, and to take with him seeds of all kinds, as they would be named to him, separated from one another. Manus obeyed the command of the deity, and brought all seeds into the ship, into which he himself then entered. But the ship, guided by the deity, swam many years upon the sea, until it finally settled upon the highest summit of the mountain Himawân (Himalaya), when it was bound fast at the command of the deity. This summit is therefore still named, at this day, Nau-Bandhanann (*i. e.* ship-binding); and from Manus descends the present race of mankind." [1]]

With respect to the Turanians, the evidence of belief in a general deluge is abundant. In the Chinese traditions, "Fa-he, the reputed founder of Chinese civilization, is represented as escaping from the waters of a deluge; and he reappears as the first man at the production of a renovated world, attended by *his wife, three sons, and three daughters.*" [2] The aboriginal races of America, now generally al-

[1] * Translated by the writer from Auberlen's *Die Göttliche Offenbarung* in the *Bibl. Sacra*, xxii. p. 422 f. — H.

[2] Hardwick, *Christ and other Masters*, part iii. p. 16.

lowed to be Turanians, held a deluge almost universally. The Mexicans had paintings, representing the event, which showed a man and woman in a boat, or on a raft, a mountain rising above the waters, and a *dove* delivering the gift of language to the children of the saved pair.[1] The Cherokee Indians had a legend of the destruction of mankind by a deluge, and of the preservation of a single family in a boat, to the construction of which they had been incited by a dog.[2] In the islands of the Pacific, when first discovered by Europeans, a similar belief prevailed. "Traditions of the Deluge," says Mr. Ellis, "have been found to exist among the natives of the South Sea Islands, from the earliest periods of their history. The principal facts are the same in the traditions prevailing among the inhabitants of the different groups, although they differ in several minor particulars. In one group the accounts stated that Taarsa, the principal god according to their mythology, being angry with men on account of their disobedience to his will, overturned the world into the sea, when the earth sunk in the waters, excepting a few projecting points, which, remaining above its surface, constituted the

[1] Prescott, *History of Mexico*, vol. iii. pp. 309, 310.
[2] Hardwick, part iii. pp. 163, 164.

present cluster of islands. The memorial preserved by the inhabitants of Eimeo states, that, after the inundation of the land, when the water subsided, a man landed from a canoe near Tiatarpua, in their island, and *erected an altar* in honor of his god. The tradition which prevails in the Leeward Islands is intimately connected with the island of Raiatea." Here the story was that a fisherman disturbed the sea-god with his hooks, whereupon the god determined to destroy mankind. The fisherman, however, obtained mercy, and was directed to take refuge in a certain small islet, whither he betook himself with his wife, child, one friend, and *specimens of all the domestic animals*. The sea then rose and submerged all the other islands, destroying all the inhabitants. But the fisherman and his companions were unharmed, and afterwards removing from their islet to Raiatea, became the progenitors of the present people.[1] Again, the Fiji islanders have a very clear and distinct tradition of a deluge, from which one family only, *eight in number*, was saved in a canoe.[2]

[* Such traditions of a flood, says Lücken, "are, if possible, more common in the New

[1] Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, vol. ii. pp. 57–59.
[2] Hardwick, part iii. p. 185.

World than in the Old." The form in which the natives relate them agrees so strikingly with the traits of the Bible history, that we cannot blame the astonished Spaniards, the first European discoverers, if they were ready to believe, on account of these and similar traditions, that the Apostle Thomas must have preached Christianity there. Between the banks of the Cassiquiare and the Orinoco, hieroglyphic figures are often seen at great heights, on rocky cliffs, which could be accessible only by constructing very lofty scaffolds. When the natives are asked how these figures could be sculptured, they answer with a smile, as if relating a fact of which a white man only could be ignorant, that at the period of the great waters, their fathers went to that height in boats." [1]]

To conclude, therefore, that the Deluge, in respect of mankind, was partial, because some of the great divisions of the human family had no tradition on the subject, is to draw a conclusion directly in the teeth of the evidence. The evidence shows a consentient belief — a belief which has all the appearance of being original and not derived — among members of ALL the great races into which ethnologists

[1] * See the writer's *Translation* from Auberlen in *Bibl. Sacra*, xxii. p. 422. The article contains other similar testimonies. — H.

have divided mankind. Among the Semites, the Babylonians, and the Hebrews — among the Hamites, the Egyptians — among the Aryans, the Indians, the Armenians, the Phrygians, the Lithuanians, the Goths, the Celts, and the Greeks — among the Turanians, the Chinese, the Mexicans, the Red Indians, and the Polynesian islanders, held the belief, which has thus the character of a universal tradition — a tradition of which but one rational account can be given, namely, that it embodies the recollection of a fact in which all mankind was concerned.

It is remarkably confirmatory of the Biblical narrative to find that it unites details, scattered up and down the various traditional accounts, but nowhere else found in combination. It begins with the warning, which we find also in the Babylonian, the Hindoo, and the Cherokee Indian versions. It comprises the care for animals, which is a feature of the Babylonian, the Indian and of one of the Polynesian stories. It reckons the saved as eight, as do the Fiji and Chinese traditions; as in the Chinese story, these eight are a man, his wife, his three sons, and three daughters-in-law (or daughters). In assigning a prominent part to birds in the experiments made before quitting the ark, it accords (once more) especially with

the tradition of the Babylonians. In its mention of the dove, it possesses a feature preserved also by the Greeks and by the Mexicans. The olive-branch it has in common with the Phrygian legend, as appears from the famous medal struck at Apamea Cibotus.[1] Finally, in its record of the building of an altar (Gen. viii. 20), immediately after the saved quitted the ark, it has a touch which forms equally a portion of the Babylonian and of one Polynesian story.

Altogether, the conclusion seems irresistibly forced upon us that the Hebrew is the authentic narrative, of which the remainder are more or less corrupted versions. It is impossible to derive the Hebrew account from any of the other stories, while it is quite possible to derive all of them from it. Suppose the Deluge a fact, and suppose its details to have been such as the author of Genesis declares them to have been, then the wide-spread generally accordant, but in part divergent, tradition is exactly what might have been anticipated under the circumstances. No other theory gives even a plausible explanation of the phenomena.[2]

[1] A representation of this medal is given in Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*, vol. ii. p. 572; and vol. iii. p. 2184, Amer. ed. It belongs to the time of Septimius Severus, but is a purely heathen, not a Christian or Jewish monument.

[2] * Since the publication of this volume a very important con-

Conclusions of modern ethnology anticipated in the genealogy of the sons of Noah.

The narrative of the Flood is followed in the Book of Genesis by an account of the repeopling of the earth by the descendants of Noah, whereof the first feature which strikes us is the enumeration of the various races under *three* heads — "the sons of Japhet" (Gen. x. 3); "the sons of Ham" (ver. 6); and "the sons of Shem" (ver. 22). It is not distinctly declared that the three groups were separated by ethnic differences; but, given the existence of ethnic differences, it is natural to conclude that the nations declared to be cognate are those between which there was most resemblance, and consequently that the document may be regarded as an ethnological arrangement of mankind under three heads. Now here it is at once noteworthy, that modern ethnological science, having set itself by a careful analysis of facts to establish a classification of races, has similarly formed a triple division of mankind, and speaks of all races as either Semitic, Aryan, or Turanian (Allophylian).[1] Moreover, when we examine the

firmation of the Mosaic account of the Deluge has been brought to light by Mr. George Smith, of the British Museum, London. It deserves a fuller notice than can be given to it in a note here. See Appendix No. 1, at the end of the book, for a summary of the contents of this new Assyrian inscription. — H.

[1] See Prichard, *Physical History of Mankind*; Bunsen, *Philosophy of Universal History*; Max Müller, *Languages of the Seat of War, etc.*

groups which the author of the tenth chapter of Genesis has thrown together, we find, to say the least, a most remarkable agreement between the actual arrangement which he has made, and the conclusions to which ethnological inquirers have come from a consideration of the facts of human language and physical type. Setting aside the cases where the ethnic names employed are of doubtful application, it cannot reasonably be questioned that the author has in his account of the sons of Japhet, classified together the Cymry or Celts (Gomer), the Medes (Madai), and the Ionians or Greeks (Javan), thereby anticipating what has become known in modern times as "the Indo-European theory," or the essential unity of the Aryan (Asiatic) race with the principal races of Europe, indicated by the Celts and the Ionians. Nor can it be doubted that he has thrown together, under the one head of "children of Shem," the Assyrians (Asshur), the Syrians (Aram), the Hebrews (Eber), and the Joktanian Arabs (Joktan), four of the principal races which modern ethnology recognizes under the heading of "Semitic." Again, under the heading of "sons of Ham," the author has arranged "Cush," *i. e.* the Ethiopians; "Mizraim," the people of Egypt; "Sheba and Dedan," or certain of the south-

ern Arabs; and "Nimrod," or the ancient people of Babylon; four races between which the latest linguistic researches have established a close affinity. Beyond a question, the tendency of modern ethnological inquiry has been to establish the accuracy of the document called in Genesis the *Toldoth Beni Noah*, or "Genealogy of the sons of Noah" (chap. x.),[1] and to create a feeling among scientific ethnologists that it is a record of the very highest value; one which, if it can be rightly interpreted, may be thoroughly trusted, and which is, as one of them has said, "the most authentic record that we possess for the affiliation of nations."[2]

Traditions of the Tower of Babel and confusion of tongues.

When the repeopling of the earth by the descendants of Noah had reached a certain point, the Biblical narrative informs us that a remarkable event produced their dispersion. The progeny of Noah, leaving the district of Ararat, where the ark had rested, occupied "the land of

[1] * The celebrated geographer, Dr. Karl Ritter, declared that of all the writings of antiquity none are receiving such confirmation from the modern researches in geography and ethnography as this tenth chapter of Genesis and the works of Herodotus. — H.

[2] Sir H. Rawlinson, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xv. p. 230. Compare Kalisch (*Comment. on Genesis*, p. 194), who speaks of "this unparalleled list, the combined result of reflection and deep research, and no less valuable as a historical document than as a lasting proof of the brilliant capacity of the Hebrew mind."

Shinar," or the great alluvial plain towards the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates. Here they resolved to build themselves a city, and a tower "whose top should reach to heaven," apparently as a centre of unity. But it was the design of Providence that they should spread, form numerous nations, and so "replenish the earth." Accordingly, by miracle, their language was confounded, and they left off to build the city, and, being scattered abroad, fulfilled the intentions of their Maker. Of this remarkable circumstance in the history of mankind, a traditional remembrance seems to have been retained among a certain number of nations. In Babylon itself, especially, the great city of the land of Shinar, there was a belief which is thus expressed by those who had studied its records: "At this time — not long after the Flood — the ancient race of men were so puffed up with their strength and tallness of stature, that they began to despise and contemn the gods, and labored to erect that very lofty tower which is now called Babylon, intending thereby to scale heaven. But when the building approached the sky, behold, the gods called in the aid of the winds, and by their help overturned the tower and cast it to the ground! The name of the ruin is still called

Babel; because until this time all men had used the same speech, but now there was sent upon them a confusion of many and divers tongues."[1] It may have been also a recollection of the event, though one much dimmed and faded, which gave rise to the Greek myth of the war between the gods and the giants, and the attempt of the latter to scale heaven by piling one mountain upon another.

Early Babylonian language indicative of variety of speech in the country.

A further tangible evidence of the confusion of man's speech in Babylonia, or, at any rate, a fact which harmonizes completely with the Scriptural statement that Babylonia was the scene of the confusion, is to be found in the character of the language which appears on the earliest monuments of the country — monuments which reach back to a time probably as remote as B. C. 2300, and almost certainly anterior to the date of Abraham. This monumental language is especially remarkable for its *mixed* character. It is Turanian in its structure, Cushite or Ethiopian in the bulk of its vocabulary, while, at the same time, it appears to contain both Semitic and Aryan elements. The people who spoke it, must, it would seem, have been living in close

[1] Abyden. ap. Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 14. Compare Alex. Polyhist. ap. eundem, ix. 15.

contact with Aryan and Semitic races, while they were themselves Turanian, or Turano-Cushite, and must have adopted from those races a certain number of terms. This would be natural if the varieties of human speech were first found in Babylonia, and if the dispersion of mankind took place from thence, for some portions of a race that migrates almost always remain in the original country. It must be added that, except in Babylonia, a mixed character is not observable in such early languages as are known to us, which are commonly either distinctly Turanian, distinctly Aryan, or distinctly Semite.

History proper, which has been defined to be "the history of states,"[1] first dawns upon us in the tenth chapter of Genesis, where we hear for the first time of a "kingdom," of cities, and of a "mighty one," who appears to have established an important monarchy (Gen. x. 8–10). The founder of this monarchy bears the name of Nimrod; its site is the land of Shinar, or Babylonia; its ethnic character is Cushite, or Ethiopian, for Nimrod is "the son" (*i. e.* descendant) "of Cush;" its great cities are four, Babel (or Babylon), Erech, Accad, and

Early Cushite kingdom in Babylonia proved by the monuments.

[1] Heeren, *Handbuch der Geschichte der Staaten des Alterthums*, § 1.

Calneh. Here, then, we come for the first time upon something which history proper ought to be able to test, and here, consequently, we ask with interest, "What has history to tell us? Does it indicate that we are on firm ground; that we have to do with realities, with actual solid facts?" The answer must most certainly be in the affirmative. Recent researches in Mesopotamia have revealed to us, as the earliest seat of power and civilization in Western Asia, a Cushite kingdom,[1] the site of which is Lower Babylonia, a main characteristic of which is its possession of large cities, and which even seems in an especial way to affect, in its political arrangements, the number *four*. Babel, Accad, and Erech (or Huruk), are names which occur in the early geographic nomenclature of this monarchy. Nimrod is a personage in its mythology. The records discovered do not, probably, mount up within some centuries of the foundation of the kingdom; but they present us with a picture in perfect harmony with the Scriptural narrative — a picture of a state such as that set up by Nimrod would be likely

[1] The Cushite character of the primitive Babylonian monarchy is proved by the close analogy of the language with that of the aboriginal races of Abyssinia, the Galla, Wolaiitsa, etc.

to have become two or three centuries after its foundation.[1]

Intimately connected with the account given in Gen. x. of the Babylonian kingdom of Nimrod, is a sketch of a sister, or daughter, kingdom in an adjoining region. "Out of that land" — the land of Shinar — we are told, "went forth Asshur,[2] and builded Nineveh, and the streets of the city, and Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah; the same is a great city." If this rendering of the original be correct,[3]

Relations of Assyria to Babylonia really such as stated in Genesis.

[1] * The modern Arabs ascribe to Nimrod all the great works of modern times, such as the *Birs-Nimrûd* near Babylon, *Tel-Nimrûd* near Bagdad, the dam of *Sur el-Nimrûd* across the Tigris below *Mosul*, and the well-known mound of *Nimrûd* in the same neighborhood (Smith's *Bibl. Dict.* vol. iii. p. 2557, Amer. ed.). In these traditions we catch again glimpses of the great city-builder and warrior shadowed forth to us in the Bible-story. — H.

[2] * In the margin (A. V.) it is, "he" (Nimrod) "went out into Assyria;" and so De Wette, Tuch, Knobel, Delitsch, Kalisch, and others; the other rendering is approved by the Sept., Vulg., Luther, Calvin, and many of the older writers. But whether Nimrod or Asshur be the subject of the verb is not material to the point at issue; for essentially the same ethnographic and linguistic affiliation is proved in the one case as the other. — H.

[3] The rendering is that of the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and the ancient Syriac versions. It is approved by J. D. Michælis, by Dathe, Rosenmüller, and Von Bohlen. Kalisch and others prefer the rendering in the margin of our Bibles.

* Our English Bible has also here "the streets of the city," in the margin, but "the city Rehoboth" in the text. The former perhaps suggests an idea of the greatness of Nineveh (Jon. iii. 3; iv. 11) which the other does not, but seems out of place here where all the accompanying terms are proper names. Most critics prefer "Rehoboth-Ir," the name of a distinct city of

we have here a statement that Asshur, or the Assyrian nation, having previously dwelt in Babylonia, "went out," or retired before the Cushites, and, proceeding to the northward, founded at some subsequent time the great Assyrian cities, Nineveh, Calah, and Resen. In a later part of the chapter, the Assyrians are declared to be Semites (ver. 22), closely connected by blood with the Syrians and the Hebrews. Of this entire account, the most remarkable points are, (1) the contrast of ethnic character noted as existing between the two neighboring peoples; (2) the priority ascribed to Babylon over Nineveh, and to the primitive Babylonian over the Assyrian kingdom; and (3) the derivation of the Assyrians from Babylonia, or, in other words, the statement that having been originally inhabitants of the low country, they emigrated northwards, leaving their previous seats to a people of a different origin. Till within a few years these statements seemed to involve great difficulties. Almost all ancient writers spoke of the Babylonians and Assyrians as kindred races, if not even as one people. Those who professed to be acquainted with their early

that neighborhood, and one of the dependencies of Nineveh. See De Wette's *Uebersetzung des A. Test.*, and Arnaud's *French Version* (1866). See Dr. Conant on *Genesis* x. 11. — H.

history declared that Assyria was the original seat of empire; that Nineveh was built before Babylon; and that the latter city owed its origin to an Assyrian princess, who conquered the country and built there a provincial capital.[1] It is one of the main results of the recent Mesopotamian researches to have entirely demolished this view, which rests really on the sole authority of Ctesias. The recovered monuments show that the Mosaical account is, in all respects, true. The *early* Babylonians are proved to have been of an entirely distinct race from the Assyrians, whose language is Semitic, while that of their southern neighbors is Cushite. A Babylonian kingdom is found to have flourished for centuries before there was any independent Assyria, or any such city as Nineveh.[2] With respect to the movement of the Assyrians northwards, the evidence is less direct; but there are not wanting some decided indications of it. The character of the Assyrian architecture is such as to render it almost certain that their style was formed in a low, flat alluvium, like that of Chaldæa. Their mode of writing, and most of their religion, are derived from the Baby-

[1] See Diod. Sic. ii. 1–20.

[2] See Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, tom. ii. pp. 16–43.

lonian. They themselves always regard Babylon as the true home of most of their gods, and are anxious to sacrifice at Babylonian shrines, as those at which the gods are most accessible. There is reason to believe that in many instances the Assyrians transported their dead into Babylonia, anxious that they should rest in what they regarded as their true country.[1] The spread of the race, after their native history commences, is northwards, and the capital is twice moved in this direction — from Asshur (Kileh-Sherghat) to Calah (Nimrud), and from Calah to Nineveh (Koyunjik). Altogether, though the evidence on the third point is merely circumstantial, it is perhaps as convincing to a candid mind as the direct testimony which establishes the former two.

From the general account of mankind, which has occupied him for eleven chapters, the author of Genesis turns, in ch. xii., to the history of an individual, the progenitor of the chosen race, to which God gave the first written revelation. It was not to be expected that profane history would take notice of this personage, who was of small account, excepting to

Some points in the history of Abraham receive illustration from profane history.

[1] Arrian. *Exp. Alex.* vii. 22; Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 199.

a single insignificant people, namely, the Hebrews. Josephus indeed imagined that the Babylonian history of Berosus contained a mention of him ;[1] but this is, at any rate, uncertain ; and the only satisfactory illustrations from profane sources, of which the history of Abraham admits, will concern persons and countries with which he was brought into contact rather than himself or his own adventures.[2] On two occasions in his life the patriarch came into connection with royal personages, and with countries which play an important part in the world's early history. We may reasonably inquire whether these countries and personages are represented agreeably to the tenor of ancient history, or the contrary.

The first of the two occasions is the following. Abraham is living as a nomad chief in Palestine, when there occurs a severe famine, which induces him to take refuge in Egypt. There the king of the country, who is called Pharaoh,

Condition of Egypt in the time of Abraham.

[1] *Ant. Jud.* i. 7, § 2.

[2] Accounts of Abraham were given by several of the later Greek writers, as Eupolemus, Artapanus, Nicolaus Damascenus, and others; but these writers drew probably from Genesis (see Rawlinson's *Bampton Lectures* for 1859, p. 70).

* An American edition of the *Lectures* was published by Gould and Lincoln, Boston, 1860. — H.

hearing of the beauty of Abraham's wife, whom he has represented as his sister, sends for her, intending to marry her; but before the marriage is consummated, discovering her real relationship to the patriarch, he rebukes him and sends the pair away. The narrative is very brief; but we learn from it: (1.) That Egypt was already under a settled government, having a king, and "princes" who acted as the king's subordinates. (2.) That the name or title of the monarch was one which to the ears of the Hebrews sounded "Pha-ra-oh." (3.) That the country was one to which recourse was naturally had by the inhabitants of neighboring lands in a time of scarcity. Now on all these points the sacred narrative is in harmony with profane sources. History Proper, the "history of states," begins with Egypt, where there is reason to believe that a settled government was established, and monarchical institutions set up, at an earlier date than in any other country.[1]

[1] Herodotus, Diodorus, and the Greek writers generally give an antiquity to the Egyptian kingdom very much beyond that which they ascribe to any other. An extreme antiquity was claimed by the Egyptians themselves. Among moderns, some allow these extreme claims. Even those who most decidedly disallow them still admit the priority of the Egyptian over all other known kingdoms.

That a name, or title, near to Pharaoh, might be borne by an Egyptian king, appears from Herodotus;[1] and modern hieroglyphic research has pointed out more than one suitable title,[2] which Hebrews might represent by the characters found in Genesis. The character of Egypt as a granary of surrounding nations is notorious; and this character has attached to her throughout the entire course of her history. The narrative of Gen. xii. 10–20, therefore, brief as it is, contains at least three points capable of confirmation or refutation from profane sources, and on all these points those sources confirm it.

The other event in the life of Abraham which receives some illustration from profane history, is the account which is given in Gen. xiv. of his rescue of Lot, his nephew, from the hands of Chedor-laomer, king of Elam. It appears, by the narrative of this chapter, that in the in-

Power of Elam and name of Chedor-laomer.

1 Herod. ii. 111.

2 "Pharaoh" has been explained as *Ph' ouro*, "the king"; and again as *Ph' Ra*, "the Sun," which was a title borne by many Egyptian monarchs. But the best hieroglyphical scholars now regard it as the equivalent of the Egyptian *Peraa*, or *Perao*, "the great house," which is "the regular title of the Egyptian kings" (*De Rougé*).

* "Pharaoh" has its analogy therefore, in that of "Sublime Porte" as one of the titles of the Grand Sultan of Turkey. At all events it is not to be regarded as a proper name. — H.

terval between the time of Nimrod and that of Abraham, power had passed from the hands of the Babylonians into those of a neighboring nation, the Elamites, who exercised a suzerainty over the lower Mesopotamian country, and felt themselves strong enough to make warlike expeditions into the distant land of Palestine. The king of Elam in the time of Abraham was Chedor-laomer (Chedol-logomer LXX.). Assisted by his vassal-monarchs, Amraphel, king of Shinar, Arioch, king of Ellasar (or Larsa), and Tidal (or Thargal LXX.), "king of nations," he invaded Palestine, defeated the princes of the country in a battle near the Dead Sea, and forced them to become his subjects. After twelve years, however, they revolted, and a second expedition was led by Chedor-laomer into the country, which resulted in another defeat of the Palestinian monarchs, in the plunder of Sodom and Gomorrha, and in the capture of Lot. Upon hearing of this, Abraham armed his servants, three hundred and eighteen in number, and assisted by a body of Amorites, went in pursuit of the retiring army, hung on its rear, dealt it some severe blows, and recovered his nephew, together with many other prisoners and much booty.

Of the actual expeditions here narrated,

profane history contains no account. But the change in the position of Babylon, the rise of the Elamites to power and preëminence, and the occurrence about this time of Elamitic expeditions into Palestine or the adjacent districts, are witnessed to by documents recently disinterred from the mounds of Mesopotamia. The name, too, of the Elamitic king, though not yet actually found on any monument, is composed of elements both of which occur in Elamite documents separately, and is of a type exactly similar to other Elamitic names of the period. To give the evidence more fully, it is stated in an inscription of Asshur-bani-pal, the son of Esar-haddon, that 1635 years before his own capture of Susa, or about B. C. 2286, Kudur-Nakhunta, then king of Elam, led an expedition into Babylonia, took the towns, plundered the temples, and carried off the images of the gods to his own capital, where they remained to the time of the Assyrian conquest.[1] From Babylonian documents of a date not much later (B. C. 2200–2100), it appears that an Elamitic dynasty had by that time been established in Babylonia itself, and that a king called Kudur-Mabuk, an Elamite prince, who held his court at

[1] G. Smith in *Zeitschrift für Ægyptische Sprache*, November 1868, p. 116.

Ur, in Lower Chaldæa, carried his arms so far to the westward, that he took the title of "Ravager of the West," or "Ravager of Syria," — a title which is found inscribed upon his bricks. The element *Kudur*, which commences the name of this prince, and also that of Kudur-Nakhunta, is identical with the Hebrew *Chedor*, while *Lagamer* is elsewhere found as an Elamitic god, which is the case also with *Mabuk* and *Nakhunta*. Thus Chedor-laomer (Kudur-Lagamer) is a name of exactly the same type with Kudur-Nakhunta and Kudur-Mabuk; its character is thoroughly Elamitic; and it is appropriate to the time at which the writer of Genesis places the monarch bearing it.

No further illustration till the time of Joseph.

The events related from the fourteeenth to the thirty-ninth chapter of Genesis are altogether of so private a nature, that profane history could scarcely be expected to notice them. Our information moreover with respect to the time is scanty, and scarcely extends to Palestine, the scene of the events narrated. When, however, we come to the history of Joseph, we are once more brought into contact with the important kingdom of Egypt, a kingdom of which, even at this remote date, we have considerable knowledge, derived in part from

ancient authors, in part from the native monuments, which occasionally (it is believed) reach back to this remote period. Here, then, profane history may once more be applied to test the veracity of the narrative; and it may be inquired whether the Egypt of Joseph agrees or disagrees with the Ancient Egypt of the monuments and the old classical writers.

Minute description of Egypt in the later chapters of Genesis.

Now the chief features of the Egypt depicted in the later chapters of Genesis seem to be the following: The monarchy, noted in Gen. xii., continues. The king still bears the title of "Pharaoh." He is absolute, or nearly so, committing men to prison (xl. 3), and releasing them (Ib. 21), or, if he please, ordering their execution (Ib. 22); appointing officers over the whole land, and taxing it apparently at his pleasure (Ib. 34); raising a foreigner suddenly to the second position in the kingdom, and requiring all, without exception, to render him obedience (Ib. 41–44). At the same time the king has counselors, or ministers, "elders of his house" (l. 7), and others, whose advice he asks, and without whose sanction he does not seem to act in important matters (xli. 37, 38). His court is organized after the fashion of later Oriental monarchies. He has a body-guard, under a commander or

"captain," one of whose chief duties is to execute the sentences which he pronounces upon offenders (xxxvii. 36). He has a train of confectioners, at the head of whom is a "chief confectioner" (xl. 2), and a train of cupbearers, at the head of whom is a "chief cupbearer" (Ib.). He rides in a chariot, and all men bow the knee before him (xli. 43). The state of Egypt is one of somewhat advanced civilization. There are distinct classes of soldiers (xxxvii. 36), priests (xlvii. 22), physicians (l. 2), and herdsmen (xlvi. 34; xlvii. 6). There is also a class of "magicians" (xli. 8), or "sacred scribes," who may be either a subdivision of the priests, or form a distinct profession. The name given to this last class implies that writing is practiced. Among other indications of advance in civilization are, the mention of "fine linen," as worn by some (Ib. 42), of a golden neck-chain (Ib.), a silver drinking-cup (xliv. 2), wagons (xlv. 21), chariots (l. 9), a coffin, or mummy-case (Ib. 26), and the practice of embalming (Ib. 2, 26). Among special peculiarities of the nation are (1), the position of the priests, which is evidently very exalted (xli. 45), and more particularly their privilege with respect to their lands, which they hold by a different tenure from the rest of the

people (xlvii. 22); (2) the existence of customs implying strong feelings with respect to purity and impurity, and a great dread of material defilement (xliii. 32); (3), a special dislike, or contempt, for the occupation of herdsmen; and (4), a greater liberty with respect to the intermixture of the sexes than is common in the East, with a consequent licentiousness in the conduct of the women (xxxix. 7–12). Other noticeable points are, the great fertility of the soil, the existence of numerous granaries (xli. 56), the practice of carrying burdens upon the head (xl. 16); the use, by the monarch, of a signet-ring (xli. 42); the employment of bought slaves (xxxix. 1); the importation of spices from Arabia (xxvii. 25); the use of stewards (xxxix. 41; xliv. 1); the washing of guests' feet (xliii. 24); the practice of sitting at meals (Ib. 38); the use of wine (xl. 11; xliii. 34), and meat (xliii. 16); and the employment of some mode, which is not explained, of divination by cups (xliv. 5).

It may be broadly stated that in this entire description there is not a single feature which is out of harmony with what we know of the Egypt of this remote period from other sources. Nay, more, almost every point in it is confirmed either by the classical writers, by the monu-

ments, or by both. The king's absolute authority appears abundantly from Herodotus, Diodorus, and others. He enacted laws, imposed taxes, administered justice, executed and pardoned offenders at his pleasure.[1] He had a body-guard, which is constantly seen on the sculptures, in close attendance upon his person.[2] He was assisted in the management of state affairs by the advice of a council, consisting of the most able and distinguished members of the priestly order.[3] His court was magnificent, and comprised various grand functionaries, whose tombs are among the most splendid of the early remains of Egyptian art.[4] When he left his palace for any purpose, he invariably rode in a chariot. His subjects, wherever he appeared, bowed down or prostrated themselves.[5] With respect to the early civilization of Egypt, it is especially noted by those conversant with the subject, that the earliest sculptures extant, even those anterior to the pyramid period, which can scarcely be later than

Complete confirmation of the description from profane sources.

[1] See Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. pp. 22, 23; and compare Herod. ii. 136, 177; Diod. Sic. i. 79, etc.

[2] Rosellini, *Monumenti dell' Egitto*, vol. ii. pp. 201, 202.

[3] Diod. Sic. i. 73.

[4] Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, tom. i. pp. 333, 334.

[5] Wilkinson, vol. ii. p. 24. "These prostrations," he says, "are frequently represented in the sculptures."

B. C. 2400 or 2300, contain traces of a progress and advance which are most striking, and indeed surprising. "We see no primitive mode of life," says Sir G. Wilkinson, "no barbarous customs; not even the habit, so slowly abandoned by all people, of wearing arms when not on military service; nor any archaic art. . . . . In the tombs of the pyramid-period are represented the same fishing and fowling scenes; the rearing of cattle, and wild animals of the desert; the scribes using the same kind of reed for writing on the papyrus; the same boats; the same mode of preparing for the entertainment of guests; the same introduction of music and dancing; the same trades, as glass-blowers, cabinet-makers, and others; as well as similar agricultural scenes, implements, and granaries."[1] "Les représentations de cette tombe," says M. Lenormant, speaking of one more ancient than the Great Pyramid, "nous montrent la civilisation Egyptienne aussi complétement organisée qu'elle l'était au moment de la conquête des Perses ou de celle des Macédoniens, avec une physionomie complétement individuelle et les marques d'une longue existence

[1] See the same writer in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 291, 2d edition.

antérieure." [1] This civilization comprises the practice of writing, the distinction into classes or castes, the peculiar dignity of the priests, the practice of embalming and of burying in wooden coffins or mummy-cases,[2] the manufacture and use of linen garments, the wearing of gold chains, and almost all the other points which have been noted in the Mosaic description. The priests' privilege with respect to lands, which cannot be proved from the monuments, is mentioned by Herodotus and Diodorus; [3] and the former distinctly states that the general proprietorship of the land was vested in the king. The same writer witnesses to the strong feeling of the Egyptians with respect to "uncleanness," and to their fear of contracting defilement by contact with foreigners.[4] The Egyptian contempt for herdsmen appears abundantly on the monuments, where they are commonly represented as dirty and unshaven, and sometimes

[1] Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire*, tom. i. p. 334.

* "The representations of this tomb," says M. Lenormant, "show us the civilization of Egypt as completely organized as it was at the moment of the conquest of the Persians, with a physiognomy altogether peculiar and the marks of a long anterior existence." — H.

[2] The coffin of Mycerinus, discovered in the third pyramid (which belongs to about B. C. 2300–2200), was of sycamore wood.

[3] Herod. ii. 168 (compare 109); Diod. Sic. i. 73.

[4] Herod. ii. 45.

even caricatured as a deformed and unseemly race.[1] The liberty allowed to women is likewise seen on the monuments, where in the representation of entertainments, we find men and women frequently sitting together, both strangers and also members of the same family;[2] and that this liberty was liable to degenerate into license, appears both from what Herodotus says of the character of Egyptian women,[3] and from the story told in the Papyrus d'Orbiney,[4] entitled "The Two Brothers," where the wife of the elder brother acts towards the younger almost exactly as the wife of Potiphar towards Joseph.[5] The practice of men carrying burdens on the head, both appears on the monuments and is also noticed by Herodotus;[6] that of sitting at meals, which was unlike the patriarchal and the common Oriental custom,[7] is also completely in accordance with the numerous representations of banquets found in the tombs; the washing of guests' feet, which does not appear to be represented, is illustrated by a tale in Herodotus, as well as by

1 Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. p. 16.

2 Ibid. p. 389.

3 Herod. ii. 111. Compare Diod. Sic. i. 59.

4 * This papyrus is in the British Museum. For a translation of the tale, see the *Cambridge Essays* for 1858. — H.

5 Ebers, *Ægypten*, p. 311.

6 Herod. ii. 35; Wilkinson, vol. ii. pp. 151, 385, etc.

7 See Gen. xviii. 4.

the ancient custom of the Greeks ;[1] divination by cups is noted as an Egyptian superstition by Jamblichus ;[2] the monuments abound with representations of stewards and granaries, of the purchase and sale of slaves, and of the employment of wagons and chariots.[3] The use of a signet-ring by the monarch has recently received a remarkable illustration by the discovery of an impression of such a signet on fine clay at Koyunjik, the site of the ancient Nineveh. This seal appears to have been impressed from the bezel of a metallic finger-ring ; it is an oval, two inches in length by one inch wide, and bears the image, name, and titles of the Egyptian king, Sabaco.[4]

It would weary the reader were we to proceed further with this confirmation of the Mosaic narrative in all its details. A simpler, and perhaps a stronger confirmation is to be

[1] Herod. ii. 172; Hom. Od. iii. 460–463; iv. 48.

[2] Jamblich. *de Mysteriis Ægypt.* iii. 14.

[3] On stewards and granaries see Wilkinson, vol. ii. pp. 135, 136; Rosellini, ii. p. 329. On the sale of slaves, see Wilkinson, vol. i. p. 404. On the employment of wagons and chariots, see Wilkinson, vol. i. p. 335; vol. iii. p. 179.

[4] See Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 156, and note. Other impressions of royal signets have been found in Egypt; and the actual signet-rings of two of the ancient monarchs (Cheops and Horus) have been recovered.

* Figures of many of these objects (military, agricultural, and domestic) copied from Egyptian monuments, will be found in Smith's *Bibl. Dict.* vol. i. pp. 671–685, Amer. ed. — H.

found in an examination of those few points in respect of which modern Rationalism has ventured to impugn the Sacred History, and on the strength of which it has been argued that the writer of the Pentateuch was unacquainted with Egypt, and composed his work many centuries after the time of Moses. Now, the points to which exception has been taken — so far as Genesis is concerned — appear to be chiefly these: (1) the mention of camels and asses among the possessions of Abraham in Egypt (Gen. xii. 16); (2) the blasting of the ears of corn by the east wind (xli. 6); (3) the cultivation of the vine and the use of wine in Egypt (xl. 11); (4) the use of flesh for food, especially by one connected with the higher castes of the Egyptians, as Joseph was (xliii. 16); (5) the employment of eunuchs (regarded as implied in xxxvii. 36); (6) the possibility of famine in Egypt; and (7) the possibility of such a marriage as is said to have taken place between a foreign shepherd and the daughter of the high-priest of Heliopolis (xli. 45).[1]

Points to which exception has been taken.

It is undoubtedly true that there are no representations of camels on the Egyptian monuments, and that the ancient writers who speak

[1] See Von Bohlen, *Die Genesis historisch-kritisch erläutert*, and Tuch, *Comment. über d. Genesis.*

of the animals of Egypt do not mention them.

These points examined.

But, on the other hand, it is certain, from the circumstances of the country at the present day, that much of Egypt is well suited to the camel;[1] and it is beyond a doubt that camels always abounded in the parts of Asia bordering upon Egypt, and that they must have been used in any traffic that took place between Egypt and her Eastern neighbors. Hence the bulk of modern writers upon Ancient Egypt place the camel among her animals; though some observe that "they were probably only kept upon the frontier."[2]

[* Camels are not uncommon in Egypt at the present time. Most of the travelling between Egypt and Palestine is performed in that way. Strabo, the Greek geographer (speaking of a much later time of course), says that the Egyptians travelled with camels through the desert from Coptos (Upper Egypt) to Berenice (Ezion-geber, Num. xxxiii. 35, 36; Deut. ii. 8). The objection as drawn from Gen. xii. 16, is not justified; for not a word is said there of the use of camels among the Egyptians (which agrees perfectly with the silence of the Egyptian monuments), but that

[1] Wilkinson, vol. iii. p. 35.

[2] Wilkinson, vol. iii. p. 35; vol. v. p. 187. Stewart Poole in Smith's *Biblical Dict.* vol. i. p. 500; and i. p. 673, Amer. ed.

Abraham favored by Pharaoh was greatly prospered as a herdsman, and among his possessions had also camels, as a nomad, such as Abraham was and continued to be (Gen. xiii. 11), would of course have. If the monuments afford no proof that the Egyptians had camels in that age, neither does the book of Genesis, and the two records are consistent with each other in that respect.]

With regard to asses, the objection taken is extraordinary, and indicates an astonishing degree of ignorance; since asses were amongst the most common of Egyptian animals, a single individual possessing sometimes as many as seven or eight hundred.[1]

An actual "east wind" is rare in Egypt, and when it occurs is not injurious to vegetation; but the southeast wind, which would be included under the Hebrew term translated "east" in Gen. xli., is frequent, and is often most oppressive. Ukert thus sums up the accounts which modern travellers have given of it: "As long as the southeast wind continues, doors and windows are closed, but the fine dust penetrates everywhere; everything dries up; wooden vessels warp and crack. The thermometer rises suddenly from 16.20 degrees up

1 * Lepsius confirms this statement explicitly (*Denkmäler aus Ægypten und Æthiopia*). — H.

to 30, 36, and even 38 degrees of Reaumur This wind works destruction upon everything. The grass withers so that it entirely perishes, if this wind blows long." [1]

Though Herodotus (ii. 77) denies the existence of the vine in Egypt, and Plutarch states that wine was not drunk there till the reign of Psammetichus,[2] yet it is now certain, from the monuments, that the cultivation of the grape, the art of making wine, and the practice of drinking it, were well known in Egypt at least from the time of the Pyramids. Sir G. Wilkinson observes, that "wine was universally used by the rich throughout Egypt, and beer supplied its place at the tables of the poor, not because they had no vines in the country, but because it was cheaper." [3] And this statement is as true of the most ancient period represented on the monuments as of any other.

The denial of the use of flesh for food among high-caste Egyptians is one of those curious errors into which learned men occasionally fall, strangely and unaccountably. There is really

[1] Quoted by Hengstenberg, *Ægypten und Mose*, p. 10.

* First translated in this country by Prof. R. D. C. Robbins and subsequently in Clark's *Theological Library*, Edinburgh. —H.

[2] *De Isid. et Osir.* § 6.

[3] Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 107; 2d ed

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no ancient writer who asserts that even the priests abstain ordinarily from animal food, while the best authors distinctly declare the contrary.[1] And the cooking scenes, which abound on the Egyptian monuments of all ages,[2] show that animal food was the principal diet of the upper classes.

With respect to the existence of eunuchs in Ancient Egypt, the evidence is conflicting. Rosellini believed that he found them depicted on the monuments.[3] Wilkinson, on the other hand, does not recognize them; and it must be admitted to be doubtful whether they are really represented or no. But it is at least certain that Manetho, the Egyptian priest, regarded them as an old national institution, since he related that a king of the twelfth dynasty (ab. B. C. 1900) was assassinated by his eunuchs.[4] On the other hand it is uncertain whether the Hebrew word used of Potiphar (Gen. xxxvii. 36), and of the "chief butler" and "chief baker" (xl. 2), though originally it may have meant "eunuch," had not also the secondary sense of "officer" at the time of the composition of the Pentateuch. That it had this sense in later times is allowed

[1] Herod. ii. 37; Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* § 5.
[2] Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. pp. 374–388.
[3] *Monumenti dell' Egitto*, vol. ii. p. 132 *et seq.*
[4] Manetho ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 20.

on all hands, and some even regard it as the original meaning of the word.[1]

To deny, as Von Bohlen does,[2] the possibility of famine in Egypt, is absurd. Ancient writers constantly notice its liability to this scourge, when the inundation of the Nile falls below the average;[3] and history tells of numerous cases in which the inhabitants of the country have suffered terribly from want.[4] The most remarkable occasion, and one which furnishes a near parallel to the famine of Joseph, was in the year of the Hegira 457 (A. D. 1064), when a famine began which lasted seven years, and was so severe that dogs and cats, and even human flesh, were eaten; all the horses of the caliph, but three, perished, and his family had to fly into Syria. Another famine, scarcely less severe, took place in A. D. 1199, and is recorded by Abd-el-Latif,[5] an eye-witness, in very similar terms.

The marriage of Joseph with the daughter of the high-priest of On (Heliopolis), is an

[1] Cook Taylor, note in the translation of Hengstenberg's *Ægypten und Mose* (Clark's *Theological Library*, p. 23).

[2] *Die Genesis erläutert*, § 421.

[3] Strab. xvii. 3, § 15; Plin. *H. N.* v. 9; xviii. 18.

[4] Several famines are mentioned on the monuments (Brugsch, *Histoire d'Egypte*, vol. i. p. 56). Others are recorded by Mohammedan writers, as Makrízi, Es-Suyuti, and others.

[5] See the *Description de l'Egypte*, tom. vii. p. 332.

event to which it must be admitted that we cannot show any exact parallel. It would seem, however, that the exclusiveness of the Egyptians with respect to marriage has been overrated. The kings, who, on their accession, became members of the priestly order and heads of the national religion, readily gave their daughters to foreigners, as one gave his to Solomon, and several in later times gave theirs to Ethiopians.[1] Moreover, it must be borne in mind, that Joseph was naturalized, and was accounted an Egyptian, just as the Ptolemies were in later times, and that thus any marriage would be open to him which was open to other non-priestly Egyptians. If there had still been any reluctance on the part of the high-priest, it must have yielded to the command of the despotic king, who is expressly stated to have made the marriage.

[1] Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 141.

CHAPTER III.

EXODUS TO DEUTERONOMY.

THE narrative contained in these four books — Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy — covers a space of probably less than two centuries ; and the scene is chiefly laid in countries of which profane history tells us little or nothing at this early period. Illustration of the narrative from profane sources must, therefore, be almost entirely confined to that portion of it which precedes the departure from Egypt, or, in other words, to the time during which the descendants of Abraham remained in close contact with a civilized nation, whose records and monuments have come down to us. For this space two sorts of illustrations are possible. The same kind of agreement between the details of the Biblical narrative and the usages known to have prevailed in Ancient Egypt, which has been pointed out with respect to the latter part of Genesis, may be traced likewise here; and further, the Exodus itself, or withdrawal from Egypt of an oppressed portion of the popula-

tion, and their settlement in southern Syria or Palestine, may be shown to have left traces in Egyptian literature, traces which quite unmistakably point to some such series of transactions as those recorded in the sacred volume. Profane accounts of the Exodus.

In proof of this latter point, to which precedence may be assigned on account of its exceeding interest, an exact translation will, in the first place, be given of two passages, one from the early Egyptian writer, Manetho, and the other from a later author of the same nation, Chæremon, both of whom were priests and learned in the antiquities of their country.

Manetho (as reported by the Jewish historian, Josephus [1]) said: —

"A king, named Amenophis, desired to behold the gods, like Horus, one of his predecessors, and imparted his desire to his namesake, Amenophis, son of Paapis, who, on account of his wisdom and acquaintance with futurity was thought to be a partaker of the divine nature. His namesake told him that he would be able to see the gods, if he cleansed the whole country of the lepers and the other polluted persons in it. The king was pleased, and collecting together all that had any bodily defect throughout Account of Manetho.

[1] *Contr. Apion.* i. 26, 27.

Egypt, to the number of eighty thousand, he cast them into the stone-quarries which lie east of the Nile, in order that they might work there together with the other Egyptians employed similarly. Among them were some of the learned priests who were afflicted with leprosy. But Amenophis, the sage and prophet, grew alarmed, fearing the wrath of the gods against himself as well as against the king, if the forced labor of the men were observed, and he proceeded to foretell that there would come persons to the assistance of the unclean, who would be masters of Egypt for thirteen years. But as he did not dare to say this to the king, he put it all in writing, and, leaving the document behind him, killed himself. Hereupon the king was greatly dejected; and when the workers in the stone-quarries had suffered for a considerable time, the king, at their request, set apart for their refreshment and protection, the city of Avaris, which was empty, having been deserted by the shepherds. Now this place, according to the mythology, was of old a Typhonian town. So when the people had entered the city, and had thus a stronghold on which to rest, they appointed as their leader a priest of Heliopolis, by name Osarsiph, and swore to obey him in all things. And he, first of all, gave them a law, that they should worship no gods, and should abstain from none of the animals accounted most holy in Egypt, but sacrifice and consume all alike; and further, that they should associate with none but their fellow-conspirators. Having established these and

many other laws completely opposed to the customs of Egypt, he commanded the bulk of them to build up the town wall, and to make themselves ready for a war with Amenophis the king. After this, having consulted with some of the other priests and polluted persons, he sent ambassadors to the shepherds, who had been driven out of Egypt by Tethmosis, to the city which is called Jerusalem, and after informing them about himself and his fellow-sufferers, invited them to join with him in an attack upon Egypt. He would bring them, he said, in the first place, to Avaris, the city of their forefathers, and would provide them amply with all that was necessary for their host; he would fight on their behalf, when occasion offered, and easily make the country subject to them. They, on their part, were exceedingly rejoiced, and promptly set out in full force, to the number of two hundred thousand men, and soon reached Avaris. Now when Amenophis, the Egyptian king, heard of their invasion, he was not a little disquieted, since he remembered what Amenophis the son of Paapis, had prophesied; and though he had previously collected together a vast host of Egyptians, and had taken counsel with their leaders, yet soon he gave orders that the sacred animals held in the most repute in the various temples should be conveyed to him, and that the priests of each temple should hide away the images of the gods as securely as possible. Moreover he placed his son, Sethos — called also Ramesses, after Rampses, his (*i. e.* Amenophis')

father, — who was a boy of five years old, in the hands of one of his friends. He then himself crossed the river with the other Egyptians, three hundred thousand in number, all excellent soldiers; but when the enemy advanced to meet him, he declined to engage, since he thought that it would be fighting against the gods, and returned hastily to Memphis. Then, carrying with him the Apis and the other sacred animals which had been brought to him, he proceeded at once with the whole Egyptian army to Ethiopia. Now the king of Ethiopia lay under obligations to him: he therefore received him, supplied his host with all the necessaries that his country afforded, assigned them cities and villages sufficient for the fated thirteen years' suspension of their sovereignty, and even placed an Ethiopian force on the Egyptian frontier for the protection of the army of Amenophis. Thus stood matters in Ethiopia. But the Solymites who had returned from exile, and the unclean Egyptians, treated the people of the country so shamefully, that their government appeared, to those who witnessed their impieties, to be the worst Egypt had known. For not only did they burn cities and hamlets, nor were they content with plundering the temples and ill-treating the images, but they continued to use the venerated sacred animals as food, and compelled the priests and prophets to be their slayers and butchers, and then sent them away naked. And it is said that the priest who framed their constitution and their laws, who was a native

of Heliopolis, named Osarsiph, after the Heliopolitan god Osiris, after he joined this set of people, changed his name, and was called Moses. . . . . Afterwards, Amenophis returned from Ethiopia with a great force, as did his son Rampses, who was likewise accompanied by a force, and together they engaged the shepherds and the unclean, and defeated them, slaying many and pursuing the remainder to the borders of Syria."

The statement of Chæremon is as follows :[1]

Account of Chæremon.

"Isis having appeared to Amenophis in his sleep, and reproached him because her temple had been destroyed in the (shepherd) war, Phritiphantes, the sacred scribe, informed him that if he would purge the land of Egypt of all those who had any pollution he would be subject to no more such alarms. So he collected 250,000 defiled persons, and expelled them from the country. Two scribes, called Moses and Joseph, led them forth; the latter of whom was, like Phritiphantes, a sacred scribe; and both of these men had Egyptian names, the name of Moses being Tisithen, and that of Joseph, Peteseph. They proceeded to Pelusium, and there fell in with 380,000 persons, who had been left behind by Amenophis, because he did not like to bring them into Egypt. So they made an alliance with these men, and invaded Egypt; whereupon Amenophis, without waiting for them to attack him, fled away into

[1] Ap. Joseph. *c. Apion.* § 32.

Ethiopia, leaving his wife, who was pregnant, behind him. And she, having hid herself in some caves, gave birth there to a son, who was called Messenes, who, when he came to man's estate, drove the Jews into Syria, their number being about 200,000, and received back his father Amenophis out of Ethiopia."

Points of accordance between these accounts and Scripture.

From these passages it appears (1) that the Egyptians had a tradition of an Exodus from their country of persons whom they regarded as unclean, persons who rejected their customs, refused to worship their gods, and killed for food the animals which they held as sacred; (2) that they connected this Exodus with the names of Joseph[1] and Moses; (3) that they made southern Syria the country into which the unclean persons withdrew; and (4) that they placed the event in the reign of a certain Amenophis, son of Rameses, or Rampses, and father of Sethos, who was made to reign towards the close of the eighteenth dynasty, or about B. C. 1400–1300.[2] The circumstances by which

[1] It must be remembered that the Israelites did carry with them out of Egypt the body of Joseph (Ex. xiii. 19), and that there was, thus, some foundation for the Egyptian notion, that Moses *and Joseph* led them out.

It is said also in Josh. xxiv. 32, that "the bones of Joseph which the children of Israel brought up out of Egypt, buried they in Shechem." See also Acts vii. 15, 16. — H.

[2] Egyptian chronology and the date of the Exodus are, both

the Exodus was preceded are represented differently in the Egyptian and in the Hebrew narrative, either because the memory of some other event is confused with that of the Jewish Exodus, or because the Egyptian writers, being determined to represent the withdrawal of the Jews from Egypt as an expulsion, were driven to invent a cause for the expulsion in a precedent war, and a temporary dominion of the polluted persons over their country. Among little points common to the two narratives, and tending to identify them, are the following: (1) the name of *Avaris* given to the town made over to the polluted persons, which stands in etymological connection with the word "Hebrew"; (2) the character of the pollution ascribed to them, leprosy, which may be accounted for, first, by the fact that one of the signs by which Moses was to prove his divine mission consisted in the exhibition of a leprous hand (Ex. iv. 6); and, secondly, by the existence of this malady to a considerable extent among the Hebrew people at the time (Lev. xiii. and xiv.); (3) the mention

of them, still unsettled. M. Lenormant places the accession of the nineteenth dynasty in B. C. 1462 (*Manuel d'Histoire*, tom. i. p. 321); Sir G. Wilkinson in B. C. 1324 (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 308, 2d ed.); Mr. Stuart Poole about B. C. 1340 (*Biblical Dict.* vol. i. p. 511; and vol. i. p. 684, Amer. ed.). The date of the Exodus is variously given, as B. C. 1648 (Hales), 1652 (Poole), 1491 (Usher, Kalisch), and 1320 (Lepsius).

of Heliopolis as the city to which the leader belonged, and the assignment to him of priestly rank, which arises naturally out of the confusion between Moses and Joseph (Gen. xli. 45); (4) the employment of the polluted persons for a time in forced labor; (5) the conviction of Amenophis that in resisting the polluted he was "fighting against the gods;" (6) his fear for the safety of his young son, which recalls to our thoughts the last and most awful of the plagues; (7) the sending away of the priests "naked," which seems an exaggeration of the "spoiling of the Egyptians;" and (8) the occurrence of the name "Rameses" in the Egyptian royal house, which harmonizes with its employment at the time as a local designation (Ex. i. 11; xii. 37).

Another curious account of the Exodus was given by Hecatæus, a Greek of Abdera, who flourished in the time of Alexander, and was familiar with Ptolemy Lagi, the first Greek king of Egypt. This writer, as reported by Diodorus,[1] said: —

Account given by Hecatæus of Abdera.

"Once, when a plague broke out in Egypt, the people generally ascribed the affliction to the anger of the gods; for as many strangers of different races were dwelling in Egypt

[1] Diod. Sic. xl. 3. (The passage is preserved to us by Photius, *Bibliothec.* p. 1152.)

at the time, who practiced various strange customs in their worship and their sacrifices, it had come to pass that the old religious observances of the country had fallen into disuse. The natives, therefore, believing that unless they expelled the foreigners there would be no end to their sufferings, rose against them, and drove them out. Now the noblest and most enterprising joined together, and went (as some say) to Greece and elsewhere, under leaders of good repute; the most remarkable of whom were Danäus and Cadmus. But the bulk of them withdrew to the country which is now called Judæa, situated at no great distance from Egypt, and at that time without inhabitants. The leader of this colony was the man called Moses, who was distinguished above his fellows by his wisdom and his courage. Having taken possession of the country, he built there a number of towns, and among them the city which is called Jerusalem, and which is now so celebrated. He likewise built the temple which they hold in so much respect, and instituted their religious rites and ceremonies; besides which he gave them laws and arranged their form of government. He divided the people into twelve tribes, because he regarded 12 as the most perfect number, agreeing, as it does, with the number of months that complete the year. But he would not set up any kind of image of the Deity, because he did not believe that God had a human form, but regarded the firmament which surrounds the earth as the only God and Lord of all. And he made their sac-

rifices and their habits of life quite different from those of other nations, introducing a misanthropic and inhospitable style of living, on account of the expulsion which he had himself suffered."

With this may be compared the remarkable account in Tacitus,[1] which combines certain features which are Egyptian with others that have clearly come from the sacred narrative.

Account of Tacitus.

"Most writers agree," says Tacitus, "that when a plague, which disfigured men's bodies, had broken out in Egypt, Bocchoris, the king, desirous of a remedy, sent and consulted the oracle of Ammon, which commanded him to purge his kingdom, by removing to foreign lands the afflicted persons, who were a race hateful to the gods. Search was therefore made, and a vast multitude being collected together, was led forth and left in a desert. Then Moses, one of their number, seeing the rest stupefied with grief, advised them, as they were deserted both by gods and men, not to expect help from either, but to confide in Him the heavenly leader, to whose assistance they would no sooner trust than they would be free from their troubles. His words won their assent, and in utter ignorance they marched whither chance led them. Their greatest trial was the want of water. Death seemed drawing near, as they lay prostrate on the plains, when, lo! a herd of wild

[1] *Hist.* v. 3. Compare the account of Lysimachus (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* vol. iii. p. 334).

asses was seen to quit its pasture and retreat to a piece of rocky ground whereon a number of trees grew. Moses followed upon their track, and finding a patch of soil covered with grass, conjectured the presence of water, and succeeded in uncovering some copious springs. Thus refreshed they pursued their journey for six days, and on the seventh reached a cultivated tract, whereof they took possession, after driving out the inhabitants. Here they built their town and consecrated their temple."

From the diverse manner in which the story is told by different authors, we may conclude that the Egyptians in their formal histories took no notice of the occurrence, which sorely hurt their national vanity; but that a remembrance of it continued in the minds of the people, who possessed (it must be borne in mind) a copious contemporary literature,[1] and that this remembrance gradually took various shapes, all of them, however, more or less flattering to the Egyptians themselves, and unfair to their adversaries. The Hebrews were almost uniformly represented as unclean persons, afflicted with some disease or other, and their Exodus was declared to be an expulsion. Generally they were spoken of as Egyptians, which

The differences and inaccuracies of these various accounts explained.

[1] The hieratic Papyri of Egypt go back to a time anterior to the eighteenth dynasty. They comprise romances, epistolary correspondence, poems, etc.

was not unnatural, considering their long sojourn in the country;[1] but sometimes it was allowed that they were foreigners.[2] The miraculous events by which their departure was preceded were ignored, partially or wholly; but there was a pretty general consent as to the name of their leader, as to the character of the laws which he gave them, and as to the quarter in which they obtained new settlements. The Egyptians never forgot, any more than the Hebrews, that there had been a time when the two races had dwelt together; they looked on the Hebrews as a sort of Egyptian colony; and while from time to time they claimed, on that account, a dominion over their country, they were ready generally to extend to it that protection, which colonies, according to the ideas of the ancient world, were entitled to require from the fatherland. The relations between Egypt and Palestine were, for the most part, friendly from the time of the Exodus to the conquest of Egypt by the Romans.

[1] Compare Ex. ii. 19, where Reuel's daughters mistake Moses for "an Egyptian."

[2] See the account of Hecatæus (*supra*, p. 62), and compare Tacit. *Hist.* v. 2: "Some writers tell us that they (*i. e.* the Jews) were a band of *Assyrians*, who, being in want of territory, first took possession of a portion of Egypt, and soon afterwards became the inhabitants of the parts of Syria which lie near to Egypt."

In none of the profane accounts hitherto quoted has the remarkable event of the passage of the Red Sea by the Hebrews, in their flight, obtained any mention. There is, however, reason to believe, that this important feature of the history retained a place in the recollections of the Egyptian people, and even formed a subject of discussion and controversy among them. Artapanus, a Jewish historian, quoted by Alexander Polyhistor,[1] the contemporary of Sulla and Marius, wrote as follows:—

Egyptian versions of the passage of the Red Sea.

"*The Memphites say*, that Moses, being well acquainted with the district, watched the ebb of the tide, and so led the people across the dry bed of the sea; but *they of Heliopolis affirm*, that the king at the head of a vast force, and having the sacred animals also with him, pursued after the Jews, because they were carrying away with them the riches, which they had borrowed of the Egyptians. Then, they say, the voice of God commanded Moses to smite the sea with his rod, and divide it; and Moses, when he heard it, touched the water with it, and so the sea parted asunder, and the host marched through on dry ground."

From these direct testimonies to the historical truth of the Exodus, we may now turn to the less striking, but perhaps even more con-

[1] *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* vol. iii. pp. 223, 224.

vincing, indirect evidence, which is furnished by the minute agreement of the sacred narrative with the known usages of Ancient Egypt.

The oppression of Israel by the Egyptians.

The narrative of Exodus tells us, in the first place, that shortly after the death of Joseph an oppression of the Israelites began. A new king — perhaps the founder of a new dynasty — claimed the whole race as his slaves, and proceeded to engage them in servile labors, placing taskmasters over them, whose business it was to "make their lives bitter with hard bondage" (Ex. i. 14). The work assigned to them consisted of brickmaking, building, and severe field-labor. They worked under the rod, the laborers being liable to be "smitten" by the Egyptian taskmasters as they labored (ii. 11), and the native officers being punished by flogging if the tasks of the men under them were not fulfilled (v. 14). On the brickmakers a certain "tale of bricks" was imposed (v. 8), which had to be completed daily. Straw was a material in the bricks; and this was at first furnished to the laborers, but afterwards they were required to procure straw for themselves, on which they spread themselves over the land and gathered stubble (v. 12). Details are wanting with respect to their other employments; but in one place

(Deut. xi. 10) we find it implied that one of the main hardships of the field-work was the toil of irrigation.

Almost every point of this narrative is capable of illustration from the Egyptian monuments. Notwithstanding the great abundance of stone in Egypt, and the fact that most of the grander buildings were constructed of this material, yet there was also an extensive employment of brick in the country.[1] Pyramids,[2] houses, tombs, the walls of towns, fortresses, and the sacred inclosures of temples, were commonly, or, at any rate, frequently, built of brick by the Egyptians.[3] A large portion of the brick-fields belonged to the monarch, for whose edifices bricks were made in them, stamped with his name.[4] Chopped straw was an ordinary material in the bricks,[5] being employed as hair by modern plasterers, to bind them together, and make them more

Almost every point of the oppression illustrated by the Egyptian monuments.

1 * Immense masses of brick are now found at Belbers, the modern capital of Tharkiya, *i. e.* Goshen, and in the adjoining district (Cook's *Bible Commentary*, vol. i. p. 252). The pyramids of Lower Egypt were not built by the Israelites, but belong with few exceptions to an earlier period. — H.

2 Herod. ii. 136.

3 Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 183, 2d ed.

4 Rosellini, *Monumenti*, vol. ii. p. 252; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. p. 97.

5 Wilkinson, vol. i. p. 50; Rosellini, vol. ii. pp. 252, 259, etc.

firm and durable. Captives and foreigners commonly did the work in the royal brick-fields; and Egyptian taskmasters, with rods in their hands, watched their labors, and punished the idle with blows at their discretion.[1] The bastinado was a recognized punishment for minor offenses.[2] "Stubble" and "straw" both existed in Ancient Egypt, wheat being occasionally cut with a portion of the stalk; while the remainder, or more commonly, the entire stalk, was left standing in the fields.[3] And both stubble and straw have been found in the bricks.[4] Finally, though agricultural labor is in some respects light in Egypt,[5] yet practically, from the continued succession of crops, from the intense heat of the climate,

[1] Wilkinson, vol. ii. p. 42; Rosellini, vol. ii. p. 249.

[2] Wilkinson, vol. ii. p. 41.

[3] Ibid. vol. iv. pp. 5–83.

[4] Ibid. vol. i. p. 50.

* See the wood-cuts (*Bibl. Dict.* vol. i. p. 326, Amer. ed.) which represent the servile occupations of captives in Egypt (taken from paintings at Thebes, in Upper Egypt): they are such as digging and mixing the clay, making the brick, presence of taskmasters with whips, counting the tale of brick, carrying them to the overseers, etc. The Hebrews may not be meant here, but their Egyptian life is illustrated as perfectly as if the picture had been drawn for them. — H.

[5] "The Egyptians," says Herodotus (ii. 14), "obtain the fruits of the field with less trouble than any other people in the world. They have no need to use either the plough or the hoe; the swine tread in their corn, and also thrash it." Compare Wilkinson's note in Rawlinson's *Herod.* vol. ii. p. 15, 2d ed.

and from the exertions needed for irrigation, the lot of the cultivator has always been, and still continues to be, a hard one.[1]

Among the other Egyptian usages introduced to our notice in Exodus, the most remarkable are the following: The employment of chariots, on a large scale, in war (xiv. 6, 7); the practice of the king to go out to battle in person (Ib. 8); the hearing of complaints and transaction of business by the king in person (v. 15); the possession, by most Egyptians, of articles in gold and silver (xii. 35); the cultivation, in spring, of the following crops *chiefly* — wheat, barley, flax, and rye, or spelt (ix. 32); the keeping of cattle, partly in the fields, partly in stables (ix. 3, 19); the storing of water in vessels of wood and stone (vii. 19); the employment of midwives (i. 15–21); the use of the papyrus for boats (ii. 3), of furnaces (ix. 8), ovens (viii. 3), kneading-troughs (Ib.), walking-sticks (vii. 10, 12), hand-mills (xi. 5), bitumen (ii. 3), and pitch (Ib.). To these the following may be added from the later books of the Pentateuch — the necessary employment of irrigation in agriculture (Deut. xi. 10); the

The general picture of Egyptian customs in Exodus is confirmed by the monuments.

[1] See Kalisch, *Comment. on Exodus*, p. 10; and compare Wilkinson, vol. iv. pp. 41–101.

use, as common articles of food, of fish, cucumbers, melons, onions, garlic, and leeks (Num. xi. 5); and the practice of the kings to keep large studs of horses (Deut. xvii. 16).

Single exception confirmed by present practice.

Now here again, as in the later chapters of Genesis, almost every custom recorded can be confirmed either from the ancient accounts of Egyptian manners which have come down to us, or from the monuments, or from both. The only exception, of any importance, is the employment of midwives, which was probably rare, as it is in the East generally, and which was also of a nature that would have been felt to render it unfit for representation. Even here, however, where ancient illustration fails, a strong confirmation of the narrative has been obtained by modern inquiry, the curious expression, "when ye see them upon the stools," being in remarkable accordance with the modern Egyptian practice, as stated by Mr. Lane.[1] "Two or three days," he says, "before the expected time of delivery, the *layah* (midwife) conveys to the house the *kursee elwilâdeh*, a chair of a peculiar form, upon which the patient is to be seated during the birth."

The monuments show that in Ancient Egypt

[1] *Modern Egyptians*, vol. iii. p. 142.

by far the most important arm of the military service was the chariot force. The king, the princes, and all the chiefs of importance fought from chariots.[1] Diodorus made the number of them in the army of Sesostris, 27,000,[2] and though this is a gross exaggeration, it shows the feeling of the Greeks as to the very extensive employment of chariots by the earlier monarchs. Cavalry were employed to a very small extent, if at all;[3] and though this, at first sight, may seem at variance with the Mosaic narrative (Ex. xiv. 9, 17, 18, 23, etc.; xv. 1), yet a careful examination of the original text will lead to the conclusion that the force which pursued the Israelites was composed of chariots and infantry only.[4] The practice of the king to lead out his army in person, is abundantly evident,[5] and will

[1] Wilkinson, vol. i. pp. 335–341; Rosellini, vol. ii. p. 240.

[2] Diod. Sic. i. 54.

[3] Rosellini inclines to the belief that the ancient Egyptians had no cavalry (vol. ii. pp. 232-259). Sir G. Wilkinson thinks they may have had a cavalry force, but that it was scanty (vol. i. pp. 289, 290). Both agree that no cavalry are represented on the monuments. Herodotus *once* speaks of an Egyptian commander as on horseback (ii. 162). Diodorus, on the other hand, gives Sesostris a numerous cavalry (i. 54).

[4] See the arguments of Hengstenberg (pp. 127–129), and Kalisch (*Comment. on Exodus*, pp. 182–184). The term translated "horsemen" in our Version, refers probably to the riders in the chariots.

[5] Herod. ii. 102; Wilkinson, i. pp. 63, 65, 83, &c.

scarcely be doubted by any. It was indeed a practice universal at the time among all Oriental sovereigns. The hearing of complaints and pronouncing of judgments by the king in person, was also very usual throughout the East; and the existence of the custom in Egypt is illustrated by many passages in ancient authors.[1]

The representations with respect to Egyptian agriculture, feeding of cattle, food, dress, and domestic habits are similarly borne out both by the ancient remains and the ancient authorities. The cultivation depicted on the monuments is especially that of wheat, flax, barley, and another grain, which is believed to correspond with the *cussemeth*, "rye," or "spelt," of the Hebrews.[2] Fish and vegetables formed the chief food of the lower classes; and among the vegetables especially affected, gourds, cucumbers, onions, and garlic are distinctly apparent.[3] According to Herodotus, some tribes of the Egyptians lived entirely on fish, which abounded in the Nile, the canals, and the lakes, especially in the Birket-el-Keroun, or Lake Mœris.[4] The monuments represent the catching, salting, and

[1] See Herod. ii. 115, 121, § 3; 129, 173.

[2] Wilkinson, vol. ii. p. 398; vol. iv. pp. 85–99.

[3] Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 370–374; and compare vol. i. p. 277, and Herod. ii. 125.

[4] Herod. ii. 92, 93, 149; iii. 91.

eating of this viand.[1] We also see on the monuments that cattle were kept, both in the field, where they were liable to be overtaken by the inundation,[2] and also in stalls or sheds.[3] The wide-spread possession, by the Egyptians, of articles in gold and silver, vases, goblets, necklaces, armlets, bracelets, earrings, and finger-rings is among the facts most copiously attested by the extant remains,[4] and is also illustrated by the ancient writers, who even speak of so strange an article as "a golden footpan."[5] The employment of furnaces, ovens, and kneading-troughs, the common practice of carrying staves or walking-sticks, and the use of hand-mills for grinding corn, are

[1] Wilkinson, vol. iii. pp. 53, 56; ii. p. 401.

[2] Ibid. vol. iv. pp. 101, 102.

[3] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 134. Compare *Cambridge Essays* for 1858, p. 249.

[4] "The ornaments of gold found in Egypt," says Sir G. Wilkinson, "consist of rings, bracelets, armlets, necklaces, earrings, and numerous trinkets belonging to the toilet" (vol. iii. p. 225). And again, "Gold and silver vases, statues, and other objects of gold and silver, of silver inlaid with gold, and of bronze inlaid with the precious metals, were also common at the same time" (Ibid.). Compare pp. 370–377.

* The Egyptian Museums (London, Paris, Berlin) contain almost as great a variety of ornaments for personal decoration (ivory, gold, silver), as are known to the fashions of modern life. They have been found in Egyptian tombs, pyramids, and mummy-pits and many of them must be as old as the age of the Pharaohs and the pyramids. — H.

[5] Herod. ii. 172.

likewise certified, either by representations or by remains found in the country.[1]

Peculiar customs. 1. Storing of water.

The storing of water in vessels of wood and stone, which is implied in Ex. vii. 19, is a peculiarly Egyptian custom, scarcely known elsewhere. The abundance of water in the Nile, and its wide diffusion by means of canals, render reservoirs, in the ordinary sense of the word, unnecessary in Egypt; and water would never be stored, if it were not for the necessity of purifying in certain seasons the turbid fluid furnished by the Nile, in order to render it a palatable beverage. For this purpose it has always been, and is still, usual to keep the Nile water in jars, stone troughs, or tubs, until the sediment is deposited, and the fluid rendered fit for drinking.[2]

2. Boats of papyrus.

The practice of making boats out of the papyrus, recorded in Ex. ii. 3,[3] is also specially Egyptian, and was not in vogue elsewhere. It is distinctly mentioned by Herodotus, Plutarch, and many

[1] On the employment of furnaces, see Wilkinson, vol. iii. p. 164; of ovens and kneading-troughs, vol. v. p. 385; of walking-sticks, vol. iii. pp. 386, 387; and of hand-mills, vol. ii. p. 118.

[2] Wilkinson, vol. iv. p. 100; Pococke, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 312.

[3] The word rendered "bulrushes" in our Version (*gomeh*), is generally admitted to signify some kind of papyrus — probably not that from which paper was made, but a coarser kind.

other ancient writers,[1] and is thought to be traceable on the monuments.[2] The caulking of these boats with pitch and bitumen, a practice not mentioned anywhere but in Exodus, is highly probable in itself; and is so far in accordance with the remains, that both pitch and bitumen are found to have been used by the Egyptians.[3] Bitumen, which is not an Egyptian product, appears to have been imported from abroad, and was even sometimes taken as tribute from the Mesopotamian tribes,[4] with whom the ancient Egyptians had frequent contests.

3. Extensive breeding of horses.

In illustration of the extensive possession of horses by the early kings of Egypt, it will be sufficient to adduce a passage from Diodorus, who says that "the monarchs before Sesostris maintained, along the banks of the Nile between Memphis and Thebes, two hundred stables, in each of which were kept a hundred horses."[5] Herodotus also notices that, prior to the reign of Sesostris, horses and carriages were very abundant in Egypt, but that subsequently they became

1 Herod. ii. 96; Plut. *De Isid. et Os.* § 18; Theophrast. *De Plantis*, iv. 9; Plin. *H. N.* xiii. 11; etc.

2 Wilkinson, vol. ii. pp. 60, 185.

3 Ibid. vol. iii. p. 186; Rosellini, vol. i. p. 249.

4 Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 254.

5 Diod. Sic. i.

comparatively uncommon, since the intersection of the whole country by canals rendered it unsuitable for their employment.[1] They were still, no doubt, bred and employed, and even exported (1 Kings x. 29), to a certain extent; but from about the time of the nineteenth dynasty, Egypt ceased to be a great horse-breeding country.

Hebrew art at the Exodus such as might have been learnt in Egypt.

Further, it may be observed that the state of the arts among the Hebrews when they quitted Egypt, which has sometimes been objected to as unduly advanced, is in entire accordance with the condition of art in Egypt at the period. The Egyptian civilization of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties embraces all the various arts and manufactures necessary for the construction of the Tabernacle and its appurtenances, for the elaborate dress of the priests, and for the entire ceremonial described in the later books of the Pentateuch. The employment of writing, the arts of cutting and setting gems, the power of working in metals — and especially in gold, in silver, and in bronze, — skill in carving wood, the tanning and dyeing of leather, the manufacture of fine linen, the knowledge of embroidery, the dyeing of textile fabrics, the

[1] Herod. ii. 108.

employment of gold thread, the preparation and use of highly-scented unguents, are parts of the early civilization of Egypt, and were probably at their highest perfection about the time that the Exodus took place.[1] Although the Hebrews, while in Egypt, were, for the most part, mere laborers and peasants, still it was natural that some of them, and, even more, that some of the Egyptians who accompanied them (Ex. xiii. 38), should have been acquainted with the various branches of trade and manufactures established in Egypt at the time. Hence there is nothing improbable in the description given in the Pentateuch of the Ark and its surroundings, since the Egyptian art of the time was quite equal to their production.

The sojourn of the Israelites in the wilderness for forty years removed them so entirely, during that space, from contact with any historic people, that we cannot expect to find, in the profane records that have come down to us, any-

No historical illustration of the sojourn in the wilderness possible.

[1] See Hengstenberg, *Ægypten und Mose*, ch. v. pp. 133–143.

* The proper title of the above work is *Die Bücher Mose's und Ägypten* (1st ed. 1841). See also R. S. Poole on "Egypt," in Smith's *Bible Dictionary* (1863). Dr. J. P. Thompson adds an important supplement in Hurd and Houghton's ed. (1867). The two writers furnish a very complete view of the Egyptology of the subject. — H.

thing to confirm or illustrate the sacred narrative. That narrative must rest, first, on the profound conviction of its truthfulness which remained forever impressed upon the consciousness of the people; secondly, on its geographic accuracy, and on the perfect accordance with fact of what may be called its local coloring;[1] and, thirdly, on the *quasi*-certainty that it is the production of an eye-witness. It may be added, that the circumstances recorded are too little creditable to the Hebrew people for any national historiographer to have invented them.

Recent criticism has attacked chiefly the numbers in the narrative.[2] There is certainly a difficulty in understanding how a population exceeding two millions could have supported itself, together with its flocks and herds, in a tract which, at the present day, barely suffices to sustain some tribes of Bedouins numbering, perhaps, six thousand souls.[3] Had the narrative made no mention of miraculous maintenance, this difficulty would have been almost insurmountable. As, however, the writer expressly declares that a miraculous supply of

A difficulty connected with it answered.

[1] See Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, part i. pp. 1–57.

[2] Colenso, *The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua Critically Examined*, pp. 31–138.

[3] Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.* p. 22.

food was furnished daily during the whole period of the sojourn to the entire people, the main objection disappears. We have only to suppose that, although the tract, compared with Egypt, and even with Palestine, was a desert, yet that it was considerably better supplied with water, and so with pasturage, than it is at the present day. There are many indications that this was the case.[1] The Israelites apparently needed a miraculous supply of water twice only. If so, wells must have been numerous and abundant, water being to be found in most places at a little distance from the surface. But wherever in the desert this is the case, there will occur oases, and a sufficient vegetation for flocks and herds, of a considerable size. The Israelites, no doubt, spread themselves widely over the peninsula during the forty years; and as the area of the desert is at least fifteen hundred square miles, the numerous flocks and herds wherewith they entered the country may have maintained themselves, though, it is to be remarked, we are not told whether their numbers diminished or no.

In any case, a difficulty which is merely numerical is of no great account. Numbers,

[1] Stanley, pp. 23–27; and Hayman, in *Bibl. Dict.* vol. iii. pp. 1752–1754; and vol. iv. pp. 3519, 3520, Amer. ed.

which, in early times, so far as we have any evidence on the subject,[1] were always expressed, in some abbreviated form, by conventional signs, are far more liable to corruption than any other parts of ancient manuscripts; and the numerical statements of the sacred writers have undoubtedly suffered in transcription to a large extent. The "six hundred thousand that were men" of Ex. xii. 37, may be a corruption of an original "one hundred thousand" or "sixty thousand"; and the numbers in Num. i., ii., may have suffered similarly. The great fact recorded, which stands out as historically true, and which no petty criticism can shake, is the exit from Egypt of a considerable tribe, the progenitors of the later Hebrew nation and their settlement in Palestine, after a sojourn of some duration in the wilderness. Of this fact the Hebrews and Egyptians were equally well convinced; and as both nations enjoyed a contemporary literature, and had thus the evidence on the point of witnesses living at the time, only an irrational skepticism can entertain a doubt respecting it.

Conclusion.

[1] On the numerical signs used in Ancient Egypt, see Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 51, and compare *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv. pp. 130, 131. On the signs used by the early Babylonians, see Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i. pp. 129–131.

[* The later explorations of the Sinaitic peninsula, show that the alleged difficulty of subsistence in the case of the Israelites, during the forty years in the wilderness, has been very much exaggerated. The Rev. F. W. Holland, for example, who has repeatedly traversed that region, says: "Large tracts of the northern portion of the plateau of the *Tih*, which are now desert, were evidently formerly under cultivation. The Gulf of Suez (probably by means of an artificial canal connecting it with the Bitter Lakes) once extended nearly fifty miles farther north than it does at present, and the mountains of Palestine were well clothed with trees. Thus there formerly existed a rain-making area of considerable extent, which must have added largely to the dews and rains of Sinai. Probably, also, the peninsula itself was formerly much more thickly wooded.

"The amount of vegetation and herbage in the peninsula, even at the present time, has been very much underrated; and a slight increase in the present rain-fall would produce an enormous addition to the amount of pasturage. I have several times seen the whole face of the country, especially the wadies, marvelously changed in appearance by a single shower.

"It is a great mistake to suppose that the convent gardens at the foot of *Jebel Mûsa*, and those in *Wady Feirân*, and at *Tôr*, mark the only three spots where any considerable amount of cultivation could exist in the peninsula. Hundreds of old monastic gardens, with copious wells and springs, are scattered over the mountains throughout the granite districts; and I could mention at least twenty streams which are perennial, excepting perhaps in unusually dry seasons.

"It has been said that the present physical conditions of the country are such as to render it utterly impossible that the events recorded in the book of Exodus can ever have occurred there. It is wonderful, however, how apparent difficulties melt away as our acquaintance with the country increases. I see no difficulty myself in the provision of sufficient pasturage for the flocks and herds, if, as I have shown, there are good reasons for supposing the rain-fall was in former days larger than it is at present; and with regard to the cattle, I will point out one important fact, which appears to me to have been overlooked, namely, that they were probably used as beasts of burden; and, in addition to other things, carried their own water, sufficient for several days, slung in water-skins by their

side, just as Sir Samuel Baker found them doing at the present day in Abyssinia."[1] The statements of Bishop Colenso, so different from this testimony of experienced travellers, are exaggerated and misleading.]

[1] * See *Recent Explorations in the Peninsula of Sinai*, by Rev. F. W. Holland (1869); and statements of the same writer in Smith's *Bibl. Dict.* vol. iv. p. 3640, Amer. ed. — H.

CHAPTER IV.

JOSHUA TO SAMUEL.

[* The book of Joshua relates especially to the land of Canaan and its distribution among the twelve tribes. Hence this book is peculiarly topographical in its character; and the more so because the entire political and religious life of the Hebrews was interwoven like a net-work with the geography of the country. This book in particular, says the great geographer, Ritter, has been subjected to the severest scrutiny, inasmuch as the scene of it lies to such an extent on the west of the Jordan now so fully explored. Its notices not only of distinct regions, but of valleys, mountains, villages, have been confirmed, often with surprising certainty and particularity. The great geographer refers, as an example of this, to Joshua's second campaign in the south of Palestine (see Josh. xi. 16 f., and xv. 21 ff.). He shows that the divisions of the country there into five parts, the scene of that expedition, rests upon a basis of geographical conditions which none but an eye-witness

could have remarked. He shows in addition to this general accuracy in the outline, that the specialities are equally true; that many of the cities and towns mentioned in the book retain to this day their ancient names, and also occur together, precisely as the sacred writers represent them as arranged of old.[1]

Another similar example may be drawn from Saul's last and fatal battle on Gilboa (1 Sam. xxxi. 1 ff., and 2 Sam. i. 1 ff.), which chronology assigns to B. C. 1055, later but little than the traditionary age of the siege of Troy. Yet the scene of it lies now mapped out before us on the face of the country as distinctly as if the battle had been fought in our own times. All the places (Gilboa, Jezreel, Shunem, Bethshean; Aphek only, 1 Sam. xxix. 1, as yet to be excepted) have been identified under their old names, and at such points precisely as the intimations of the history and the course of the battle presuppose. A person may start from any one of them and make the circuit of them all in a few hours. Such examples are becoming every day more and more frequent in the progress of Palestine explorations. As geographers and tourists traverse the land in every direction, and ask the names

[1] * Ritter's *Einblick auf Pälastina u. seine Christliche Bevölkerung* (Berlin, 1852). — H.

of towns, villages, brooks, heaps of ruins, and the like, they have the old names given back to them from the mouth of the people, though unheard of (out of the country) since last mentioned in these oldest records of human history.[1]

We have a similar testimony to the geographical accuracy of the Pentateuch furnished by Messrs. Holland and Palmer, who have lately explored so thoroughly the Sinaitic Peninsula. "The encampment by the Red Sea, mentioned in Num. xxxiii. 10, proved that the Israelites kept down the coast after crossing the Red Sea somewhere in the neighborhood of Suez. They first 'went three days in the wilderness, and found no water' (Ex. xv. 22). They then came to Marah, where the water was bitter, so that they could not drink of it (23), and from there they removed to Elim, whence they removed to their encampment by the Red Sea. Now the traveller to this day, on his journey to Mount Sinai, after traversing a long strip of barren desert with-

[1] * For gleanings on this subject of the topography of Scripture, see Van de Velde (*Travels in Syr. and Pal.* vol. ii. p. 368 ff.; Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.* p. 339, Amer. ed.), Porter's *Handbook*, ii. 355 ff.; Thomson's *Land and Book*, ii. 141 ff., and the writer's *Illustrations of Scripture* (gathered in the Holy Land), pp. 118–126. For the results of some of the more recent explorations in the Desert of Sinai and in Palestine generally, see especially *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, pp. 1–435 (London and New York, 1871). — H.

out water that extends down the coast, comes to a district where the water is brackish and unwholesome; a day's journey next brings him to an elevated plain, where there are wells of water and palm-trees; and then he descends again to the sea-coast, having been forced to pass round the back of a mountain, which reaches out into the sea. Thus the character of the country and distances from point to point, exactly agree with the Bible narrative. And this is the case the whole way to Mount Sinai; for next comes a large plain, that answers well to the wilderness of Sin, where the Israelites were first fed with manna (Ex. xvi. 1); and from the plains one of the principal wadies affords an easy road to Mount Sinai, a day's journey from which is a spot which tradition marks as the site of the battle of Rephidim (Ex. xvii. 8 ff.), and which agrees well with the short description we have of that battle-field. So mountainous is the country, that there is only one other route which could possibly have been followed by the Israelites; and the mention of the encampment by the sea (Num. xxiii. 10) renders that almost impossible. Thus the features of the country bear out and explain the Bible narrative; and research here, as elsewhere in Bible lands, confirms our belief in the truth of that

history of God's chosen people which has been given us in the Holy Scriptures." [1]]

Isolated position of the Hebrews after the Exodus.

The period treated in the books of Joshua and Samuel is the darkest in the whole history of the Hebrew people. The fugitives from Egypt, who by Divine aid effected a lodgment in the land of Canaan, under their great leader, Joshua, were engaged for some hundreds of years in a perpetual struggle for existence with the petty tribes among whom they had intruded themselves, and during this entire period were removed from connection with those civilized nations with whom writing was a familiar practice, and the recording of contemporaneous history an established usage. The Moabites, Ammonites, Amorites, Canaanites, Midianites, Philistines, with whom the Israelites contended with eventual success for the space of three or four hundred years after the death of Moses, were races either absolutely without a literature, or with none that has come down to us.[2] It is true that history continued to be written during the period under consideration

[1] * *Sinai and Jerusalem; or, Scenes from Bible Lands*, by Rev. F. W. Holland (London, 1872). — H.

[2] The *stelé* of Mesha — the only remnant of the literature of any of these races that has reached our times — belongs to a later period than that here treated of.

* See Appendix No. 2, at the end of the volume. — H.

in the great and civilized kingdoms of Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria; but these nations were content with writing their own histories, and did not trouble themselves with that of their neighbors, unless they were brought into direct contact with them. Now it appears distinctly that no such contact took place. The Mesopotamian powers declined in military strength after the time of Chedor-laomer. Assyria shook off the yoke of Babylon, and the two nations became engaged in long wars against each other. The Assyrian records show that during the period assigned by Scripture to the Hebrew judges and the early Hebrew kings, Assyrian expeditions were either confined within the Euphrates, or at any rate went no further than Cappadocia and Upper Syria, or the country about Antioch and Aleppo.[1] And though Egypt seems to have continued for some time after the Exodus to be a great military state, and to have conducted expeditions into Northern Syria, and even across the Euphrates,[2] yet in Southern Syria she cared only to maintain her possession of the coast route, and attempted no subjuga-

Negative accord of their records with the Egyptian and Assyrian.

[1] See *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. pp. 312–327.

[2] Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire*, vol. ii. pp. 436–448; Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. pp. 314, 315.

tion of the tribes inhabiting the highlands on either side of the Jordan. As the Hebrew records are silent with respect to Egypt and Assyria during this entire period, so the Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions are silent with respect to the Hebrews. If there is not a positive, there is a negative accord, between them. From the Hebrews' account of themselves we gather that during their long period of struggle with the Canaanitish nations, they were unmolested by either Egypt or Assyria; from the accounts given by the Egyptians and Assyrians of the same period, we learn that they led no expeditions into the country occupied by the Hebrews during these centuries.

Tradition of Joshua's war with the Canaanites preserved in North Africa.

It is not till we approach the close of the period under consideration that any positive historical illustration of this portion of the sacred narrative becomes possible. One curious tradition throws a gleam of light on the earlier history; but otherwise antiquity is silent, until we come to the reign of David. The tradition intended is one that appears to have been current in the western part of North Africa, where the natives not only believed themselves to be of Canaanite extraction,[1] but expressly

[1] S. Augustine says of the rustics in his part of Africa: "Interrogati quid sint, Punicé respondent, Chanani" (Ep. ad Rom.).

derived themselves from certain fugitives, who were (they said) expelled from Palestine by "Joshua, the son of Nun, the plunderer." So strong was the conviction upon the point, that at Tingis, or Tigisis, the modern Tangiers, there were erected near the great fountain of the place, two pillars of white marble bearing an inscription to this effect in the Phœnician language and character, which remained to the times of the Lower Empire.[1]

Profane testimony with respect to David's wars.

By the time of David a civilization had arisen in the near vicinity of the Hebrews — whether derived from theirs or not is uncertain — and a literature had come into existence, some scanty fragments of which have descended the stream of time to our day. In the Phœnician towns on the coast of the Mediterranean, and again in the great city of Damascus in the interior, the practice of recording the names of their kings and the chief events of their reigns, seems to have begun about this time; and classical writers have preserved to us certain notices drawn from these sources, in which David and his acts are mentioned. David, it will be remembered — according to the narrative in Samuel, — after chastising the Philis-

[1] See Procop. *Bell. Vandal.* ii. 10; and compare Mor. Choren. *Hist. Armen.* i. 18, and Suidas ad voc. CANAAN.

tines, made war upon Hadadezer, king of Zobah, and defeated him (2 Sam. viii. 3), whereupon the Syrians of Damascus came to the aid of Hadadezer, and a war followed between the Israelites and these Syrians, which terminated in the complete defeat of the latter, and their reduction to the position of tributaries. This war was mentioned by Nicolas of Damascus, the friend of Augustus Cæsar, who evidently derived his account of it, not from the Jewish Scriptures, but from the records of his native place. "After this," he said, "there was a certain Hadad, a native Syrian, who had great power: he ruled over Damascus, and all Syria, excepting Phœnicia. He likewise undertook a war with David, the King of Judæa, and contended against him in a number of battles; in the last of them all, which was by the river Euphrates, and in which he suffered defeat, showing himself a prince of the greatest courage and prowess." [1]

Testimony of Nicolaus Damascenus.

The ancient Phœnician historiographers, whose works were carefully studied, and represented in Greek, by two writers of the time of Alexander the Great — Dius and Menander of Ephesus — spoke (we are told) of a Hiram, King of Tyre, as

Testimony of Eupolemon.

[1] Nic. Dam. Fr. 31.

reigning at this time, and appear to have noticed certain transactions in which he was engaged with David; at least Eupolemon must, it would seem, have drawn from this source, when he spoke of a war between Hiram and David, which is not mentioned in the Bible. And it is even probable that the entire account of David's wars in the same author, which is certainly not drawn from either Samuel or Chronicles, came also from this same quarter. "David," said Eupolemon,[1] "reduced the Syrians, who dwelt by the river Euphrates, *and Commagené, and the Assyrians and Phœnicians* who dwelt in the land of Gilead; and he made war on the Edomites, and the Ammonites, and Moabites, *and Ituræans and Nabatæans and Nabdæans;* moreover, he also made an expedition against Suron (Huram or Hiram), king of Tyre and Phœnicia, and compelled all these people to pay tribute to the Jews." This narrative, which seems clearly to be derived from non-Jewish sources, is an important testimony to the truth of the history related in 2 Sam. viii. and ix. It confirms that history by a distinct mention of the chief conquests of David recorded in the Bible, while it adds to them

[1] See the fragments of Polyhistor in the *Fr. Hist. Gr.* vol. iii. p. 225; Fr. 18.

several others, which, though not recorded in Scripture, are intrinsically not improbable.

Early preëminence of Sidon over Tyre confirmed.

Besides these direct testimonies, there are a certain number of incidental allusions to the condition of foreign nations in this portion of the Sacred Volume, which admit of being tested by a comparison with profane records, with a result which is in every case favorable to the historical accuracy of the Biblical writers. For instance, it is evident to the careful reader of Scripture that, in the earlier portion of the period under consideration, a preëminence over the other Phœnician cities is assigned to Sidon — "Great Sidon," as she is called,[1] — while from the time of David this preëminency passes away, and Tyre steps into the place which Sidon had previously occupied. Now this shift in the balance of Phœnician power, this transfer of the chief authority from one city to another, is completely borne out by profane history, which tells us, in the first place, that Sidon was the mother-city of all Phœnicia,[2] and further indicates in a variety of ways her early superiority over the rest of

[1] Josh. xi. 8; xix. 28. Note the frequent mention of Sidon in Joshua and Judges (Josh. xiii. 4, 6; Judg. i. 31; iii. 3; x. 12; xviii. 7, 28); and contrast the single mention of Tyre (Josh. xix. 29).

[2] Justin. *Hist.* xviii. 3. Strab. *Geograph.* i. 2, § 33.

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the Phœnician towns.[1] On the other hand it is universally acknowledged that Tyre had the preëminence in later times; and if we were to fix the date of the revolution from profane history only, we should have to place it about B. C. 1050, or a little earlier, — that is, shortly before the accession of David.

Power of Hittites confirmed.

Again, the narrative of Joshua represents to us the nation of the Hittites as being, at the time of the conquest of Canaan, the principal power in Upper Syria, or the country between Palestine and the Euphrates.[2] This fact is abundantly confirmed by the Egyptian remains, which show us the Hittites (*Sheta*) as the chief opponent of Egypt, in the valley of the Orontes, during the period occupied by the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties of Manetho,[3] a period which must certainly include within it the judgeship of Joshua. The later power of the Hittites, as witnessed by the Assyrian inscriptions, accords with the Scriptural account, but does not directly confirm it, since the earliest Assyrian record[4] in which the

[1] The early Egyptian inscriptions which mention the Phœnician towns give Sidon the first place. Homer mentions Sidon repeatedly, but never Tyre.

[2] See Josh. i. 4; ix. 1; xii. 8.

[3] Lenormant, *Manuel*, vol. i. pp. 399–441.

[4] *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.*, date about B. C. 1125.

Hittites obtain mention is not anterior to the twelfth century B. C., or from two to three centuries after Joshua.

Philistine power confirmed.

As the Hittites appear in Joshua to be the dominant race to the north of Galilee, so does the whole narrative from Exodus to Samuel represent the Philistines as the dominant people of the tract between Judæa and Egypt.[1] Here, once more, the Egyptian records agree, since they assign to the Philistines the same sort of lead among the enemies of Egypt in the south which belongs to the Hittites in the regions of the north.[2] Indeed, so sensible are the Egyptians of their strength that they finally consent to make terms with this people, and guarantee them in the possession of the rich tract about Gaza, Ashdod, and Ascalon.[3]

Manners and customs depicted, confirmed, or probable.

Enough is not known of the manners and customs of the Canaanitish races from any source independent of Scripture to permit much illustration of the period between Moses and David, from a consideration of the usages of these nations incidentally noticed by the sacred writers. Still there are a few such points to

[1] See Josh. xiii. 3. Judg. iii. 3; x. 7; xiii. 1. 1 Sam. iv. xiii. 5–22, etc.

[2] Brugsch, *Histoire d'Egypte*, pp. 185–187.

[3] Lenormant, *Manuel*, vol. i. p. 144.

which the reader's attention may be called. The military power of the northern races, the Hittites and their allies, is represented in Joshua (xi. 4) as consisting especially in the multitude of their chariots. This agrees with the Egyptian accounts, which similarly make the chariots of the Sheta their main force.[1] The worship of Ashtoreth by the Canaanitish nations generally (Judg. ii. 11–13), accords with a hieroglyphic inscription of Rameses II. which mentions *Astert* as a Hittite divinity.[2] The general character of the desert tribes, especially the Midianites and the Amalekites, as depicted in Judges (vi.–viii.), resembles closely the picture which the Egyptians draw of the Shaso. The gradual increase of Philistine power apparent in the Scriptural narrative harmonizes with the parallel decline of Egypt, which the monuments indicate.[3] The curious name — *Shophetim*, or "Judges" — borne by the Hebrew rulers from Othniel to Samuel, receives light from the parallel term *Suffetes*, found to have been applied to the chief magistrates of Phœnician colonies. In other respects, the manners and customs depicted

[1] Lenormant, p. 413. Compare Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. iii. p. 175; and *Cambridge Essays* for 58, p. 240.

[2] Bunsen, p. 180.

[3] On this decline, see Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 315; Bunsen, p. 218; Lenormant, pp. 445–451.

can only be pronounced natural, and thoroughly Oriental. The foot of the conqueror placed literally on the person of the conquered monarch (Josh. x. 24) before his execution, the cruel practice of mutilation (Judg. i. 6, 7),[1] the custom of blood-feuds (Josh. xx. 3 ; Judg. viii. 19), the intermixture in one and the same country of a dominant people and subject tribes (Judg. i. 19–36), the hiding of the latter when grievously oppressed, in dens and caves (Ib. vi. 2 ; 1 Sam. xiii. 6), the wearing of earrings by men (Judg. viii. 24–26, the spying of women through a lattice (Ib. v. 28), the employment of apologues (Ib. ix. 7–15), the setting and solving of riddles (Ib. xiv. 12–18), the shaving off of half the beard in derision (2 Sam. x. 4), these and a hundred other little points in the narrative are agreeable to the known practice of Eastern nations, and indicate that accuracy in details is no less a characteristic of the Sacred Volume than truthfulness in the main facts of the history. Such accuracy is sometimes found in works of the imagination, where it is necessary in order to render them life-like, and where it

[1] * For fuller details respecting these modes of punishment so peculiar, see Smith's *Bibl. Dict.* vol. iii. p. 2640 ff., Amer. ed. — H.

is the result of much study and contrivance; but it is scarcely observable in any but a faithful and contemporary *history*, where it comes without effort, costs no thought, and scarcely presents itself at all distinctly to the consciousness of the writer.

CHAPTER V.

KINGS AND CHRONICLES.

THE kingdom of Solomon is one of the most striking facts in the Biblical history. A petty nation, which for some hundreds of years has with difficulty maintained a separate existence in the midst of warlike tribes, each of which has in turn exercised dominion over it and oppressed it, is suddenly raised by the genius of a soldier monarch to glory and greatness. An empire is established which extends from the Euphrates to the borders of Egypt, a distance of 450 miles; and this empire, rapidly constructed, enters almost immediately on a period of peace, which lasts for half a century. Wealth, grandeur, architectural magnificence, artistic excellence, commercial enterprise, a position of dignity among the great nations of the earth,[1] are enjoyed during this space; at the end of which there is a sudden collapse, — the ruling nation is split in twain, the

Short-lived empire of the Jews under David and Solomon.

[1] On the real character of Solomon's kingdom, see Dean Stanley's article on DAVID, in the *Bibl. Dict.* vol. i. p. 408; and vol. i. p. 551, Amer. ed.

subject races fall off, and the preëminence lately gained being wholly lost; the scene of struggle, strife, oppression, recovery, inglorious submission, and desperate effort recommences. To persons acquainted only with the history of the West, the whole series of events appears incredible; the entire analogy of history seems against them, since in Occidental records they have no parallel, and an inclination is naturally felt to question their historical truth, to regard them as either wholly invented, or at any rate as grossly exaggerated.

Numerous Oriental parallels.

But a knowledge of the history of the East removes these impressions. In the East such a series of events is the reverse of abnormal. The rapid rise of petty states to greatness, the sudden change of an oppressed into a dominant power, is the rule. Babylon, Media, Persia, Parthia, all illustrate it. Duration of empire when obtained is more irregular. Sometimes a great power, when once formed, holds its own for many centuries, *e. g.* Assyria, Parthia, Sassanian Persia. But at other times a collapse occurs after a very brief space. The Babylonian empire lasted, at the utmost, eighty-seven, the Median seventy-five years.[1] This latter

[1] *Ancient Monarchies*, vol iii. pp. 175, 222; *Manual of Ancient History*, p. 34.

instance furnishes almost an exact parallel to the empire of the Jews; for the whole period of the empire is made up of two reigns, those of a father and a son, the former a warlike prince who constructs it, the latter a peaceful one who adorns it, and makes it the admiration of its neighbors; and the collapse is brought about by a division between the two great sections of the ruling (Medo-Persic) race, and a war between them, which, however, has a somewhat different result from the war between the Ten Tribes and the Two. Short periods of great prosperity are, in fact, of ordinary occurrence among the States of the East, where so much more depends than in the West on the personal character of individuals, and where the vigor and energy which enable a chief to found an empire are rarely inherited by descendants born and bred up in a seraglio.

Character of the Empire borne out by contemporary history.

And if the analogy of Oriental history generally is thus favorable to the main Scriptural fact — the sudden rise, vast splendor, and rapid collapse of the empire of the Jews, — so is the analogy of the Oriental history of the time favorable to the character of the empire, as set before us in the Sacred Volume. "Solomon," we are told, "reigned over *all the king-*

doms from the river (Euphrates) unto the land of the Philistines and unto the borders of Egypt" (1 Kings iv. 21); and again, "Solomon had dominion over all the region on this side the river, from Tiphsach (Thapsacus on the Euphrates) to Azzah (or Gaza), over *all the kings* on this side the river" (Ib. 24); "they *brought presents*" (Ib. 21); a "*rate year by year*" (Ib. x. 25); and "served Solomon all the days of his life" (Ib. iv. 21). Here we have a picture of a kind of empire exactly similar to those which profane records — and more especially the recently-discovered cuneiform inscriptions — show to have prevailed in the East at the period to which the empire of Solomon is assigned, and for some (though not very many) centuries afterwards. The modern system of centralized organization, by which the various provinces of a vast empire are cemented into a compact mass, was unknown to the ancient world, and has never been practiced by Asiatics. The satrapial system of government, or that in which the provinces maintain their individuality, but are administered on a common plan by officers appointed by the crown — which has prevailed generally throughout the East since the time of its first introduction, — was the invention of Darius Hystaspis[1] (ab. B. C.

[1] Herod. iii. 89.

520). Before his time the great monarchies of the East had a slighter and weaker organization. They were in all cases composed of a number of separate *kingdoms*, each under its own native king; and the sole link uniting them together and constituting them an empire was the subjection of these petty monarchs to a single suzerain. The Babylonian, Assyrian, Median, and Lydian were all empires of this type, — monarchies where a sovereign prince at the head of a powerful kingdom was acknowledged as suzerain, by a number of inferior princes, each in his own right sole ruler of his own country. And the subjection of the inferior princes consisted chiefly, if not solely, in two points: they were bound to render homage to their suzerain, and to pay him annually a certain stated tribute. Thus in Solomon's empire, as depicted in the book of Kings, we recognize at once a condition of things with which we are familiar from profane sources; and we see that at any rate the account given of it is in entire harmony with the political notions and practices of the day.

Solomon's reign and relations with Hiram attested by Dius.

The fact of Solomon's rule over the Jews at the time which Scripture assigns to him, and the friendly relations in which he stood toward the Tyrian monarch, Hiram, were attested by the Tyrian

historians, on whose works Dius and Menander based their histories, as stated in a former chapter.[1] Dius, as reported by Josephus,[2] said, "On the death of Abibaal, his son Hiram mounted the Tyrian throne. He made a mound on the eastern side of the city, and enlarged the citadel, and attached to the city by means of a mole the temple of Jupiter (Baal?), which stood by itself on an island, and adorned the temple with golden offerings. Moreover, he cut timber in Mount Lebanon, to be used in the construction of his temples. And it is said that Solomon, who then reigned at Jerusalem, sent riddles to Hiram, and requested that riddles should be sent him in return, with the condition that the receiver should pay a sum of money to the sender if he could not find them out. The challenge was accepted by Hiram; and, as he could not discover the answers to Solomon's riddles, he had to pay him a large sum as a forfeit. After this, a Tyrian, called Abdemon, found out Solomon's riddles, and sent him others which Solomon could not solve. So Solomon, in his turn, forfeited a considerable sum to Hiram." Menander's testimony [3] is very nearly to the same effect; but his account is less full, and

[1] See above, ch. iv. p. 96.
[2] *Contr. Apion.* i. 17.
[3] Ibid. § 18.

therefore does not need to be quoted. The date of Hiram was fixed by the Tyrian historians to the close of the eleventh century before our era, since his accession was placed in the 156th year before the foundation of Carthage, and the foundation of Carthage was assigned to the seventh year of Pygmalion, or B. C. 864. The exchange of riddles between Hiram and Solomon, which is not related in Scripture, illustrates both the proceedings of Samson (Judg. xiv. 12–19) and those of the Queen of Sheba, when she sought to "prove Solomon by hard questions" (1 Kings x. 1).

Other points attested by the Tyrian histories.

The Tyrian histories witnessed, moreover, to the construction of the Temple by Solomon,[1] an event which they placed in the 144th year before the foundation of Carthage, or B. C. 1007. They stated that several letters which had passed between Hiram and Solomon were preserved in the Tyrian archives;[2] and they further related, as we learn from Menander, that Solomon took to wife one of Hiram's daughters.[3] This last fact, though not distinctly mentioned in Scripture, is probably glanced at in the statement (1 Kings xi. 1),

[1] *Contr. Apion.* § 17.

[2] Joseph. *c. Ap.* i. § 17.

[3] Menand. ap. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. p. 386.

that "King Solomon loved many strange women, together with the daughter of Pharaoh, women of the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, *Zidonians*, and Hittites."

It might have been expected that the Egyptian records would have afforded illustrations of the reign of Solomon. Solomon's principal wife was the daughter of a Pharaoh, and a portion of his dominions accrued to him through this marriage (1 Kings ix. 16). One of his adversaries was married to another Egyptian princess, the sister of Tahpenes, wife of an Egyptian monarch (Ib. xi. 19). Late in his reign, a subject whom he suspected took refuge in Egypt, and was favorably received by Shishak, who was then king (Ib. 40). But the Egyptian records of the period are peculiarly scanty. The monarchs of the twenty-first dynasty have left scarcely any memorials. All that appears from them is that Egypt was at this time exceedingly weak, that she had no foreign wars, and that Egyptian princesses were occasionally married to subjects and foreigners.[1] The names of Solomon, Hadad, Jeroboam, Tahpenes, do not occur. The name of Shishak is, however, found under the form of Sheshonk; his date

Scanty illustration of his reign from the parallel history of Egypt.

[1] Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, tom. i. p. 452.

accords with that of Solomon; and he appears as the founder of a new dynasty, and therefore as a prince who might naturally change the relations previously subsisting between Judæa and Egypt. But, on the whole, the illustration under this head is scanty and disappointing.

Date assigned to Solomon's Empire in harmony with both Egyptian and Assyrian history.

In one respect, however, the history of Egypt and the parallel history of Assyria harmonize very remarkably with the Hebrew accounts, rendering that which seems most extraordinary and abnormal in them readily comprehensible, natural, and even probable. When we glance over the general relations and consider the natural resources of the three countries — Egypt, Palestine, Assyria, — it seems at first sight most unlikely that the weak intermediate country should at any time have been able to assert herself, and to maintain undisturbed for above half a century an empire over regions generally claimed by one or other, or by both, of the great powers between which she lay. Under ordinary circumstances, when Egypt and Assyria, or either of them, were in their vigor, the assumption of such a position by Judæa may be pronounced simply impossible. But the monuments of both countries show that, exactly

at the time when the Jewish empire is placed by the sacred writers, there was, both in Egypt and in Assyria, a temporary decay and depression. Assyria, which in the twelfth century bore rule over most of Northern Syria, passes under a cloud towards the commencement of the eleventh, and continues weak and inglorious till nearly the close of the tenth.[1] Egypt declines somewhat earlier, but recovers sooner, her depression commencing about B. C. 1200, and terminating with the accession of Sheshonk, about B. C. 990.[2] It is only in the interval between the decline of Assyria, B. C. 1100, and the recovery of Egypt, B. C. 990, that such an empire as that ascribed to Solomon would have been allowed to exist; and exactly into this interval the Solomonian empire falls according to the sacred writers.

Among the accessories of the history of Solomon there are numerous points on which profane history sheds a light; but the space within which these Illustrations must be confined will only allow of special attention being called to two. These are the pictures drawn of Phœnician civilization at the time, and the character of the art which forms so remarkable a

Picture of the Phœnicians confirmed by profane authors.

[1] *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. pp. 332–336.
[2] Lenormant, *Manuel*, tom. i. pp. 449–452.

feature of Solomon's reign. Phœnician civilization is represented as consisting especially in the possession of nautical skill, of extensive commerce, and of excellence in the mechanical and ornamental arts and employments. None "can skill to hew timber like unto the Sidonians" (1 Kings v. 6). They are "cunning to work in gold, and in silver, in brass, and in iron, and in purple, and in blue, and in crimson" (2 Chr. ii. 7); they "can skill to grave gravings" (Ib.). Hiram of Tyre casts for Solomon all his vessels for the Temple service, and, especially the two huge pillars, Jachin and Boaz, which stood in front of the porch, and the great laver called "the molten sea" (1 Kings vii. 21–23). Skill in the mechanical processes of art and in ornamentation is what we find ascribed to them; not artistic excellence in the highest and best sense of the words. Closely in accordance with this is the character of Phœnician civilization, which we derive from the Greeks. Their early nautical skill and extensive trade are mentioned by Homer and Herodotus, the former of whom speaks especially of their beautifully embroidered robes and their bowls of silver.[1] Their "skill to hew timber,"

[1] Herod. i. 1; iv. 148. Hom. *Il.* vi. 289; xxiii. 743; *Od.* iv. 614; xv. 417, etc.

even at this remote time, was attested by their own historians, as also was their practice of making large metal pillars.[1] Such remains of their art as have come down to us are of the character indicated. They consist of engraved gems and cylinders, and of metal bowls, plain, or embossed with figures.[2] In no instance do the figures show any real artistic excellence.

[* A few years ago certain letters or markings were found at Jerusalem on the bottom rows of the wall at the southeast angle of the Haram, at the depth of ninety feet, near where Solomon's Temple must have stood. Mr. E. Deutsch, of the British Museum, who saw them on the ground, decides that they must have been put there when the stones were laid *in situ*, and that they are Phœnician.[3] Similar marks are found on primitive substructures in the harbor of Sidon at the present day. It has been suggested, as the most probable explanation of these marks here, that they were put there by Tyrian architects whom Hiram or Huram[4] sent to assist Solomon in the erection of the Temple,

[1] See the fragment of Dius quoted above, p. 100, and compare Menand. ap. Joseph. *c. Ap.* i. 18.

[2] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 186, 603.

[3] * See *Quarterly Statement of the Pal. Expl. Fund*, No. ii. (1869). — H.

[4] * Different forms of the same name. Huram occurs especially in Chronicles, and is a Masoretic variation of Hiram. — H.

as we learn from 1 K. v. 10, 18, and 2 Chr. ii. 11 ff. Yet we may not insist on this coincidence, because the Hebrews and the Tyrians at that period may have used the same written form of letters or figures, and hence the Hebrew architects may have placed them there.]

Art of Solomon in close accord with that disclosed by the Assyrian remains.

The art of Solomon's reign presents numerous points of agreement with the style of art recently discovered to have prevailed in Mesopotamia and the adjacent countries at a time not much subsequent. The modern historian of architecture finds in the ruins of Nineveh and Palestine the best means of illustrating and explaining the edifices with which Solomon adorned Jerusalem.[1] The "House of the Forest of Lebanon"[2] resembles clearly the "Throne-room" of an Assyrian or Persian palace. Its proportions, its cedar roofing, its numerous columns, its windows and doors squared at top, are all in keeping with Assyrian or Persian examples; with which accord also the separation of the entire palace into several distinct groups of buildings, the inclusion within the palace of large courts, the

[1] Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i. Compare *Biblical Dictionary*, vol. ii. p. 659; and vol. iii. p. 2283, Amer. ed.

[2] * See 1 K. vii. 2, x. 17, 21; 2 Chr. iv. 16, 20. It was so called from being largely built of cedar or adorned with cedar pillars from Lebanon. — H.

paving of the courts with stone, and the employment of slabs of stone as a facing to the walls of the palace (1 Kings vii. 9). The overlaying of the Temple with pure gold (Ib. vi. 21, 22), so marvelous to moderns, accords with the Babylonian, the Assyrian, and the Median practice; the ornamentation of the same building, and its furniture, with cherubims (probably winged bulls), palm-trees, and open flowers (Ib. vi. 32), and again with pomegranates and lions (Ib. viii. 18, 29), is thoroughly Assyrian; the height of the pillars Jachin and Boaz, and the size and complicated character of their capitals, have parallels at Persepolis; the lions that guard the steps of Solomon's throne (Ib. x. 20), recall the lion figures at the Assyrian palace gates; the "throne of ivory" (Ib. 18), accords with the fragments of ivory furniture found at Nineveh.[1] In these and numerous other respects, the art ascribed to Solomon by the sacred writers receives illustration from remains, most of which were buried at the period when they compiled their histories, and have been for the first time uncovered in our day.

Of the divided kingdom which followed upon the death of Solomon, the Assyrian records furnish numerous, and the Egyptian a

[1] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 194–196.

few illustrations. The most important Egyptian notice is contained in an inscription erected by Shishak (Sheshonk) at Karnak, which has been most carefully studied by modern scholars, and may be regarded as having completely yielded up its contents. This document is a list of the countries, cities, and tribes, conquered in his great expedition by Shishak, and regarded by him as his tributaries. It contains, not only a distinct mention of "Judah," as a "kingdom" which Shishak had subjugated,[1] but also a long list of Palestinian towns, from which an important light is thrown on the character of the expedition commemorated, and the relations subsisting between Judah and Israel in the early part of Solomon's reign. Among the cities mentioned are not only, as might have been expected, a certain number of the cities of Judah, but several in the territory of the Ten Tribes, which one would have supposed subject to Jeroboam, Shishak's *protegé* and ally, and therefore unlikely to have been treated hostilely by the Egyptians. Examination, however, of these cities shows that they fall into the two classes of Levitical towns, and towns originally Ca-

Shishak's expedition against Judah confirmed by one of his inscriptions.

[1] Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 316, 2d ed.; Stuart Poole in *Biblical Dictionary*, ad voc. SHISHAK.

naanite ; and the explanation of their appearance in the list seems to be, that Jeroboam was not at first firmly established in the whole of his kingdom, but that the Levites held to Rehoboam (see 2 Chr. xi. 13), while the remnant of the Canaanites probably reasserted their independence. Shishak therefore directed his arms against these two classes of cities, handing them over, probably, when he had taken them, to Jeroboam, who thereby became master of the whole territory of the Ten Tribes, which he held, probably, as a fief under the Egyptian crown.

Zerah's expedition against Asa.

Shishak's invasion of Palestine was followed within about thirty years (according to the book of Chronicles) by another great attack from the same quarter. Zerah, the Ethiopian, at the head of a vast army, composed of Ethiopians and Libyans, invaded Judæa in the reign of Asa, the grandson of Rehoboam, but was completely defeated by him, and forced to an ignominious flight. It was not likely that we should obtain any direct confirmation of this expedition from the other side, since Oriental monarchs do not generally record their disasters ;[1]

[1] * It is said that no record of the death of a king has yet been found on the Assyrian monuments. Certainly this singular reserve exceeds very much that of the French mortuary valediction and salutation: *Le roi est mort : vive le roi !* — H.

but hieroglyphical scholars are able to point out two monarchs, reigning about this time in the valley of the Nile, having names that accords sufficiently with the Hebrew Zerah, one or other of whom would seem to have been the leader of the invasion. The Egyptian throne was occupied from about B. C. 956 to 933 by an *Osorchon*, who may have been by birth an Ethiopian ;[1] and the throne of Ethiopia was filled about the same time by a king named *Azerch*-Amar, whose monuments are found at Napata.[2] The Hebrew practice of abbreviating foreign names (seen in So, Shalman, etc.) may have caused either of these names to be expressed by Zerah.

During the reign of Asa over Judah, the sister kingdom was the scene of great disorders. Revolution followed revolution. Four dynasties rapidly succeeded each other. Two kings were assassinated; one burnt himself in his palace. At length a certain Omri attained to power, and succeeded in introducing greater stability into the Israelite state. Removing the capital to a new site, Samaria, and establishing a new system of laws, which were

Greatness of Omri confirmed by the Assyrian inscriptions.

[1] The second Osorchon married the sister of the preceding king, and ruled in right of his wife.

[2] Lenormant, *Manuel*, tom. i. pp. 253, 453.

thenceforth observed (Mic. vi. 16), he so firmly fixed his dynasty upon the throne, that it continued during three generations and four reigns before it was succeeded by another. A monarch of this capacity might be expected to get himself a name among his neighbors; and accordingly we find in the Assyrian inscriptions of the time that his name is the Israelite name with which they are most familiar.[1] Samaria is known to the Assyrians for some centuries merely as Beth-Omri, "the house" or "city of Omri;" and even when they come into contact with Israelite monarchs of the house which succeeded Omri's upon the throne, they still regard them as descendants of the great chief whom they view perhaps as the founder of the kingdom.[2] Thus the Assyrian records agree generally with the Hebrew in the importance which

1 * The most skeptical writers recognize the significance of this agreement of Assyrian and Jewish history. See De Wette-Schrader's *Einleit. is das A. und N. Test.* p. 320 (1869). In some minor details the Assyrian readings may be still uncertain; but of the great bulk of them, there is no more doubt than of the renderings of one spoken language into another. On this subject, see "Ninive," by F. Spiegel in Herzog's *Real-Encyk.* vol. x. pp. 361-381 (1858), and especially, under the same title, vol. xx. pp. 219-235 (1866). See also *Testimony of Assyrian Inscriptions to the Truth of Scripture*, by Rev. T. Laurie, formerly missionary at Mosul (*Bibl. Sacra*, xiv. pp. 147-165). — H.

2 See the *Black Obelisk Inscription*, where Jehu is called "the son of Omri."

they assign to this monarch; and specially confirm the fact (related in 1 Kings xvi. 24), that he was the founder of the later Israelite metropolis, Samaria.[1]

Omri mentioned on the Moabite stone.

Omri's name appears also on another very recently discovered monument. The stêlé of Mesha, king of Moab, erected at Dibon in the Moabite country about B. C. 900, twenty or thirty years after Omri's death, records that he reduced the Moabites to subjection, and began an oppression under which they groaned, till Mesha reëstablished their independence.[2] This notice agrees well with the Hebrew date for Omri, and with the mention that is made of his "might" in 1 Kings xvi. 27.

Ahab mentioned on the Black Obelisk.

Omri's son and successor, Ahab, is mentioned by name in an Assyrian contemporary inscription, which, agreeably to the account given in the First Book of Kings with respect to the place of his ordinary residence (1 Kings xviii. 46; xxi. 1, 2), calls him "Ahab of *Jezreel*."[3] The inscrip-

[1] * In accordance with this concurrent biblical and monumental testimony, Dean Stanley treats of the reign of "the house of Omri" as one of the great epochs of Jewish history (*Lectures on the Jewish Church*, vol. ii. pp. 313–376). — H.

[2] See Dr. Ginsburg's *Moabite Stone*, pp. 31–33; [and Appendix No. 2, in this edition of the work.]

[3] M. Oppert reads "Ahab of Israel" (*Histoire des Empires de Chaldée et d'Assyrie*, p. 140); but Sir H. Rawlinson regards

tion tells us that Ahab on a certain occasion joined in a league of kings against the Assyrians, and furnished to the confederate army, that was brought into the field, a force of 10,000 footmen and 2,000 chariots. The allies suffered defeat, and Ahab appears thenceforth to have abstained from offering any opposition to Assyria. Among the confederate monarchs with whom he leagued himself was the Damascene king, Benhadad, whom Scripture also makes Ahab's contemporary.

The relations here exhibited as subsisting between Ahab and Benhadad may appear at first sight difficult to reconcile with those described in Kings, where Benhadad is Ahab's chief foreign enemy (1 Kings xx. and xxii.). But if we carefully examine the sacred text, we shall see that there is express mention of an interval of peace as having occurred between the two great Syrian wars of Ahab — an interval estimated at three years (1 Kings xxii. 1), — during which period the two monarchs were friends. The alliance with Benhadad against the Assyrians may well have fallen into this space.[1] Indeed, it throws light both on the readiness of Ahab to grant

the Assyrian word as corresponding more closely to the Hebrew "Jezreel."

[1] The Assyrian chronology requires as the date of the alliance a *late* year in the reign of Ahab.

the Syrian monarch favorable terms when he had him in his power (1 Kings xx. 34), and on his exasperation at the terms granted not being observed (Ib. xxii. 3), if we suppose that Ahab made his covenant with Benhadad in contemplation of an impending Assyrian invasion; that when the invasion came, he helped Benhadad to resist it; and that then Benhadad, setting at nought the obligations both of honor and gratitude, refused to fulfil the engagement by means of which he had obtained his liberty.

His oppression of Moab recorded on the Moabite stone.

The Moabite stone also speaks of Ahab, though not by name. "Omri," it tells us, "King of Israel, oppressed Moab many days, for Chemosh was angry with his land. *His son succeeded him*, and he also said, I will oppress Moab."[1] This passage agrees well with the statements of the Second Book of Kings (i. 1, and iii. 4, 5), that the Moabites were subject to Ahab throughout his reign, and paid him annually the enormous tribute of "an hundred thousand lambs, and an hundred thousand rams with the wool." Such a tribute (even if the wool alone, and not the animals, is intended) would undoubtedly have been felt

[1] See Dr. Ginsburg's *Essay on the Moabite Stone*, p. 13. [See also Appendix No. 2, at the end of this volume.]

by the people who paid it as extremely oppressive.[1]

Some facts of his reign illustrated by the Tyrian histories.

The ancient Tyrian histories may also be quoted as illustrative of the reign of Ahab, though they do not expressly mention him. The author of Kings (1 Kings xvi. 31) relates that Ahab "took to wife Jezebel, the daughter of Eth-baal, king of the Zidonians." This "Eth-baal" appeared as "Eithobalus" in Dius and Menander, who made him the sixth king of Tyre after Hiram, reckoning the interval between the two at fifty years, and giving Eithobalus a reign of thirty-two years,[2] whereby he would be exactly contemporary with Ahab. Moreover, the Tyrian histories related that Eithobalus was high-priest of Astarte (or Ashtoreth), which accounts in a

[1] * Some think the tribute was not an annual one, but exacted only once. It is not necessary to adopt that view. "The extraordinary number of ruins scattered over the country," says Mr. Grove, "are a sure token of its wealth in former ages." (*Bibl. Dict.* vol. iii. p. 1987, Amer. ed.) Recent travellers confirm this testimony. "Everything in Moab speaks of its former wealth and cultivation. Even yet, though the soil is badly tended by the few Arab tribes that inhabit it, large tracts of pasture land and extensive corn-fields meet the eye at every turn. Ruined cottages and towers, broken walls that inclosed gardens and vineyards, remains of ancient roads, meet the traveller at every step." See *Our Work in Palestine*, p. 322. Our American explorers now in that region may be expected to settle many similar questions relating to the Bible. — H.

[2] See Joseph. *contr. Ap.* i. 18.

measure for the religious fanaticism of his daughter. They further stated that during the reign of this monarch, there was a severe drought in Phœnicia,[1] which may not unreasonably be connected with the three years' want of rain, mentioned in Kings (1 Kings xvii. 1; xviii. 1).

The revolt of Moab from Ahaziah, the main subject of the Moabite stone.

The rebellion of Moab, which is the first fact assigned by the writer of Kings to the reign of Ahaziah, Ahab's elder son and successor (2 Kings i. 1), has recently had much light thrown upon it by the discovery of the monument (already referred to) erected to commemorate the occurrence.[2] The "Mesha, king of Moab," who threw off the Israelite yoke (2 Kings iii. 4, 5), inscribed upon a pillar, which he set up in his own land, the series of events whereby he had restored his country to independence; and the inscription upon this pillar has recently, by the combined labor of various Semitic scholars, been recovered, deciphered, and translated into the languages of modern Europe.[3] It appears from this document, as already noticed, that a griev-

[1] Menand. ap. Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* viii. 13.

[2] See Appendix No. 2.

[3] See the various translations collected by Dr. Ginsburg at the close of his Essay (pp. 42, 43); [and see also Appendix No. 2, in this volume.]

ous oppression of the Moabites was begun by Omri and continued by his son Ahab; who together oppressed the nation for a space which Mesha reckons roughly at forty years. After this, probably in the first year of Ahaziah, the Moabites rebelled. Mesha attacked and took the various towns which were occupied by Israelite garrisons throughout the country, and after a sharp struggle made himself master of the whole territory. He then rebuilt such of the Moabite cities as had fallen into decay during the period of the oppression, strengthening their fortifications, and otherwise restoring and beautifying them.

Mention of Hazael and Jehu on the Black Obelisk.

Of the reign of Jehoram, Ahaziah's successor, we have no profane illustration; but the Assyrian monument known as "the Black Obelisk," contains a notice of the next Israelite monarch, Jehu, and another of the Syrian king who succeeded Benhadad, Hazael. Hazael appears as the chief antagonist of the Assyrian invaders of Syria, in immediate succession to Benhadad;[1] and Jehu, who is called "the son of Omri," is declared to have sent ambassadors to the Assyrian capital with presents or* tribute.[2] The facts here recorded

[1] *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. 364.

[2] Ibid. p. 365. Jehu's ambassadors are represented, bringing the tribute, on the Black Obelisk.

* Instead of "Jehu's ambassadors" in this note we should

are not mentioned in Scripture; and the "illustration" consists simply in the mention at an appropriate time, under appropriate circumstances, and in proper sequence, of persons who play an important part in the Sacred History.

Agreement of the Assyrian monuments with Scripture as to the condition of Syria, B. C. 900-800.

A more interesting point of agreement than the bare mention in the same chronological order of the same historic names, is to be found in the accord between the general picture of Syria at this time, as presented to us in our Sacred Books, and the representation of it given by the Assyrian records. In both we find the country between the middle Euphrates and Egypt parceled out among a large number of tribes or nations, of whom the most powerful are, in the north, the Hittites, the Hamathites, the Phœnicians, and the Syrians of Damascus; in the south, the Philistines and the Idumæans. In both there is a similar portrait of Syria of Damascus as a considerable state, the strongest in these parts, ruled from a single centre by a single monarch. The same general character, and the same secondary position, is in both assigned to Hamath,

substitute "Ahab's ambassadors" according to Prof. Rawlinson's corrections in his *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iv. p. 576. This makes a change of a few years only in the time of the first contact between the Assyrians and the Israelites, but does not affect at all the value of the Biblical corroboration. — H.

which, like Damascus, has its single king (2 Kings xix. 13; 1 Chr. xviii. 9), but is evidently a kingdom of less strength. In contrast with these two centralized monarchies stand the nations of the Hittites and the Phœnicians, each of which has several independent kings or chiefs, the number in the case of the Hittites being, apparently, very great (1 Kings x. 29; comp. xx. 1). The military strength of the northern nations consists especially, according to both authorities, in their chariots, besides which they have a numerous infantry, but few or no horsemen. Both authorities show that, in this divided state of Syria, the kings of the various countries were in the habit of forming leagues, uniting their forces, and making conjoint expeditions against foreign countries. Lastly, in both pictures we see in the background the two great powers of Egypt and Assyria, not yet in conflict with one another, not yet able, either of them, to grasp the dominion of Syria, or crush the spirit of its brave and freedom-loving peoples, but both feeling their way towards a conquest, and tending to come into a collision which will establish the complete prepónderance of the one or the other in the region lying between the Nile and the Euphrates.

From early in the reign of Jehu over Israel, till late in that of Azariah (or Uzziah)[1] over Judah, — a period of about a hundred years, — the Assyrian annals are silent with respect to the events and persons mentioned in Scripture. The monarchs who warred in Southern Syria and Palestine have left no detailed account of their campaigns, or at any rate none has been discovered hitherto; and we consequently know nothing beyond the broad facts, that in the earlier part of the period Assyria still claimed dominion over Syria of Damascus, Phœnicia, and Samaria,[2] while in the later she fell into a depressed condition, suffered from revolts within her own proper territory,[3] and left the Syrians to follow their own devices. This temporary weakness of the great Asiatic kingdom in the earlier half of the eighth century B. C., is in harmony with the statements of Scripture, that about this time both Israel and Judah were able to assume an aggressive attitude, and to enlarge their borders at the expense of their neighbors. Uzziah in Judah, Jeroboam the second,

Depression of Assyria B. C. 800–750 accords with increase of Jewish power at that time.

[1] * Probably forms of the same name, though regarded by some as different. See Winer's *Bibl. Wörterbuch*, vol. ii. p. 648. — H.

[2] *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. pp. 378, 379.

[3] Seven years of revolt are mentioned in the Assyrian canon between B. C. 763 and 746.

EVANGEL
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and Menahem in Israel, extended their authority over the border nations, Uzziah reducing Philistia and Ammon (2 Chr. xxiv. 6–8), Jeroboam conquering Hamath and Damascus (2 Kings xiv. 28), and Menahem making himself master of the entire tract between Samaria and the Euphrates at Thapsacus (Ib. xv. 16). It was only when the power that claimed to be mistress of Western Asia was exceptionally weak that such third-rate states as Judæa and Samaria could presume to attempt extensive conquests.

The Assyrian records silent with respect to Pul.

It is into the period which we are here considering that an event falls which constitutes almost the only important historical difficulty that now meets the inquirer into the harmony between the sacred and the profane, the only dark place in the narrative which recent discoveries might have been expected to illumine, yet which they have not illumined, but have left in all its previous obscurity. This event is the invasion of Samaria, about B. C. 760–750, by a monarch who is called "Pul, king of Assyria" (1 Kings xv. 19; 1 Chr. v. 26); who came up against Israel in the reign of Menahem, and forced that prince to acknowledge his suzerainty, and to pay him a tribute of a thousand talents. Of this Pul the Assyrian records tell

us nothing. On the contrary, they in a certain sense exclude him, since in the lists of Assyrian monarchs who reigned about this period, — lists which profess to be, and apparently are, complete, — there is no mention of Pul, and no indication of any place at which his reign can be inserted. It seems certain that the later monarchs of Assyria, Sargon, Sennacherib, Esar-haddon, Asshur-bani-pal, did not acknowledge any monarch of the name of Pul among their predecessors on the Assyrian throne.[1] They filled that throne, at the date assigned to Pul in Scripture, with a prince whose name is completely different,[2] and they moreover made this prince a *fainéant*, who scarcely ever led out his army beyond the frontier, and eschewed all distant expeditions.

Pul mentioned by Berosus. His (probable) real position.

In this silence of the Assyrian annals with respect to Pul, we turn to the ancient historian of Mesopotamia, Berosus, and we find that we have not turned to him in vain. Berosus mentioned Pul, and placed him exactly at this period; but he called him a "Chaldæan," and not an "Assyrian" monarch.[3] If this were the case, if Pul

[1] The numerous copies of the Assyrian Canon all agree in the order of the kings. None of them show any signs of a gap.

[2] The name is commonly read as "Asshur-lush," or "Asshur-likkis."

[3] Ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 4.

reigned at Babylon and not at Nineveh, the Assyrian records might naturally enough be silent about him. But why, it may be asked, did the sacred writers not term him "King of Babylon," if this was his real position. It would perhaps be enough to answer that the Great Power of Western Asia, at any time after the rise of the Assyrian Empire, was reckoned by the Jews to have inherited that empire, and was therefore called "King of Assyria," as Nabopolassar is in 2 Kings xxiii. 29, and Darius Hystaspis in Ezra vi. 22. But there was perhaps a further reason for the title being used of Pul at this time. The Assyrian annals show, from about B. C. 763, a disintegration of the Assyrian dominion — a breaking off of the provinces from the rule of Nineveh, and a weakness on the part of the Ninevite monarchs, which may well have allowed of the western provinces passing under the authority of an ambitious Babylonian prince, who, being master of the portion of Assyria nearest to them, would necessarily appear to the Jews to be "King of Assyria." This probably was the position of Pul. He was a "Chaldæan," who, in the troublous times that fell upon Assyria, about B. C. 763-760, obtained the dominion over Western Mesopotamia, and who, invading Syria from

the quarter whence the Assyrian armies were wont to come, and being at the head of Assyrian troops, appeared to the Jews as much an Assyrian monarch as the princes that held their court at Nineveh.

With the reign of Tiglath-pileser in Assyria, and those of Azariah and Ahaz in Judah, and of Menahem and Pekah in Israel, points of contact between the Assyrian and the Hebrew records become abundant. Tiglath-pileser relates that, about his fifth year (B. C. 741), being engaged in wars in Southern Syria, he met and defeated a vast army under the command of Azariah, king of Judah, the great monarch whose host is reckoned in Chronicles at 307,500 men, and whose military measures are described at considerable length (2 Chr. xxvi. 6–15). Again, he relates that from his twelfth to his fourteenth year (B. C. 734–732) he carried on a war in the same regions with the two kings, Pekah of Samaria, and Rezin of Damascus, who were confederate together, and that he besieged Rezin in his capital for two years, at the end of which time he captured him and put him to death, while he punished Pekah, by mulcting him of a large portion of his dominions, and carrying off vast numbers of his subjects

The Assyrian records abundantly illustrate Tiglath-pileser's relations with Israel, Judah, and Syria.

into captivity.[1] It is scarcely necessary to point out how completely this account harmonizes with the Scriptural narrative, according to which Pekah and Rezin, having formed an alliance against Ahaz, and having attacked him, Ahaz called in the aid of Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, who "hearkened to him, and . . . . went up against Damascus, *and took it*, and carried the people captive to Kir, and *slew Rezin*" (2 Kings xvi. 9); and who likewise punished Pekah by invading his territory and carrying away the Reubenites, the Gadites, and half the tribe of Manasseh (2 Kings xv. 29; 1 Chr. v. 6, 26), and settling them in Gozan in the Khabour. Further, Tiglath-pileser relates that before quitting Syria he held his court at Damascus, and there received submission and tribute from the neighboring sovereigns, among whom he expressly mentions, not only Pekah of Samaria, but "*Yahu-Khazi* (*i. e.* Ahaz), king of Judah."[2] This passage of the Assyrian annals very remarkably illustrates the account given in 2 Kings xvi. 10–16, of the visit of Ahaz to Damascus "to meet King Tiglath-pileser."

The annals of Tiglath-pileser contain also some mention of the two Israelite monarchs,

[1] *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. pp. 131, 132. Compare Lenormant *Manuel*, tom. ii. p. 86.

[2] *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. 133, 2d ed.

Menahem and Hoshea. Menahem appears as tributary to Assyria in the early part of Tiglath-pileser's reign (about B. C. 743); and Hoshea makes submission to the Assyrian monarch, probably in his last year, B. C. 728.[1] These Assyrian dates involve a certain amount of chronological difficulty when compared with the Hebrew; but the Hebrew dates of the time are evidently in confusion, the original numbers, as given by the sacred writers, having certainly been corrupted in many instances. To produce a complete accord between the two chronologies at this point, we should have to give Pekah a reign of ten, instead of twenty years.

Slight chronological difficulty.

Of Hoshea, the last Israelite king, there is no further mention in the Assyrian annals. Shalmaneser, the Assyrian monarch, who was engaged in hostilities with him for several years, has left no records; which may be accounted for by the shortness of his reign, or by the fact that he was succeeded by a usurper. The Assyrian canon, however, agrees with Scripture in making Shalmaneser king directly after Tiglath-pileser; and Menander of Ephesus spoke of his warring in Southern Syria, where he said that Tyre was besieged by him for five years.[2]

Shalmaneser's Syrian wars noticed by Menander.

[1] *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. pp. 130, 133.

[2] Menand. ap. Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* ix. 14.

Hoshea's league with "So, king of Egypt" (2 Kings xvii. 4), admits of some illustration from the Egyptian records, since it is almost exactly at the time of Hoshea's reign that a change occurs in the dynastic lists of Egypt, which is accompanied by a recovery of vigor on the part of that power and a resumption of the old policy of aggression. Manetho's twenty-fifth, or Ethiopian, dynasty appears to have extended its influence into Lower Egypt about B. C. 725,[1] or a little later; and the "So" (*Seveh*, or *Sava*) of Kings may reasonably be identified with the first monarch of this dynasty, the Sabaco of Manetho and Herodotus, and the Shebek I. of the hieroglyphical inscriptions. This prince, who contended with Sargon in Southern Palestine a little later,[2] may well have attracted the regard of Hoshea, when, about B. C. 724 or 723, he was looking out for some powerful ally who might help him to throw off the yoke of Assyria. The league formed between the two neighbors is natural, and has many analogies; so too has the Egyptian monarch's desertion of his *protegé* in the hour of peril, a course of conduct only too familiar to Egyptian princes.

"So, king of Egypt," noticed on the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments.

[1] Lenormant, *Manuel*, tom. i. p. 457.
[2] *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. pp. 143–145.

The fall of Samaria related in the Assyrian records.

The capture of Samaria, and the deportation of its people by the Assyrians, which terminated the reign of Hoshea, and at the same time brought the kingdom of Israel to an end, is noticed in the annals of Sargon,[1] who was Shalmaneser's successor, and assigned by him to his first year, which was B. C. 722–721. Here, it will be observed, there is an exact accord between the Assyrian and the Hebrew dates, the Hebrew chronology placing the fall of Samaria in the 135th year before the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, which was in the 18th year of that king, or B. C. 586 (and B. C. 586+135 producing B. C. 721). Again, Sargon relates that he carried away captive from Samaria 27,280 persons; and he subsequently states that he transported numerous prisoners from Babylonia to a place "in the land of the Hittites," which is probably Samaria, though the inscription is not at this point quite legible (compare 2 Kings xvii. 24). It may be objected that, according to the narrative of Kings, Shalmaneser, and not Sargon, appears as the conqueror of Hoshea and captor of

[1] *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. 141.

* The "annals" meant above are the Assyrian inscriptions which furnish this information. The principal monuments which relate to Sargon are now in the Louvre at Paris. See Prof. Rawlinson's article on SARGON, in Smith's *Bibl. Dict.* vol. iv. p. 2844, Amer. ed. — H.

Samaria (Ib. 3–6); and undoubtedly this is the impression produced on the ordinary reader; but a careful examination of the text of Kings removes this impression, and rather produces a contrary one. For while in the first passage where the capture is mentioned (2 Kings xvii. 3–6), the name of Shalmaneser occurs only in verse 3, and subsequently, in verses 4, 5, and 6, the phrase used four times is "the King of Assyria," who *may* at any point in the narrative be a new monarch, in the second passage (2 Kings xviii. 9–11) there seems to be a distinct intimation that Shalmaneser was *not* the actual captor, since the phrase is changed, and while we are told that "he (Shalmaneser) came up against Samaria and besieged it" (xviii. 9), in the following verse the expression used is, "THEY *took it*." Had the same monarch who began the siege effected the capture, the writer would naturally have said, "and at the end of three years *he* took it."[1]

[1] * Without separating the subject of the first verb so distinctly from that of the second verb, we may suppose that Shalmaneser, though he did not himself capture Samaria, prepared the way for it by his invasion of the land of Israel and his seige of Samaria. The Hebrew writer (2 K. xviii. 10) may have had in mind that coöperation, and may have meant to recognize it by passing thus abruptly from the singular to the plural. Hence "they" in the A. V. (not expressed in the Hebrew) would stand for Assyrians, and include Shalmaneser among them. — H.

Sargon's records confirm Isa. xx. and 2 Kings xvii. 6.

The discovery itself of Sargon as a real Assyrian king, the successor of Shalmaneser, and the predecessor and father of Sennacherib, is an important illustration of Scripture, since, until the name was recovered from the Assyrian monuments, there was no confirmation at all of Isaiah's mention of Sargon, King of Assyria (xx. 1), nor any means of determining the place of this monarch in the Assyrian lists. The passage of Isaiah stood by itself, the sole evidence during five-and-twenty centuries of there ever having been an Assyrian king of the name; and many critics and historians were led in consequence to doubt his distinct personality, and to identify him with Shalmaneser, Sennacherib, or Esarhaddon.[1] The Assyrian discoveries have put an end to all surmises of this character, and have given to Sargon a definite position, a marked individuality, and an important place in the sacred narrative. It appears to be Sargon who is intended in 2 Kings xvii. 6, 24, and xviii. 11, as well as in Isa. xx. 1, 4, and 6. Isaiah's mention of his capturing Ashdod, and being engaged in hostilities with the Egyptians and the Ethiopians, is confirmed by the Assyrian records,[2] which also illustrate very remarkably

[1] See Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*, ad voc. SARGON.
[2] *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. pp. 142-147, 2d edit.

the statement, that, when he carried the Samaritans into captivity, he placed some of them "in the cities of the Medes." For Sargon relates that, having overrun a large portion of Media, he seized a number of the towns, and "annexed them to Assyria," which, according to the system regularly followed by him in his conquests,[1] would involve his occupying them with colonists from a distance.

Sennacherib's first expedition against Hezekiah described fully in the annals of Sennacherib.

The Hebrew records relate that Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz, after having borne the Assyrian yoke which his father had accepted, for a certain time, revolted, and trusting in the aid of Egypt, like the Israelite monarch, Hoshea, resumed his independence. Thus provoked, "Sennacherib," we are told, "King of Assyria, came up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them; and Hezekiah, King of Judah, sent to the king of Assyria to Lachish, saying, I have offended: return from me: that which thou puttest upon me I will bear: and the King of Assyria appointed unto Hezekiah, King of Judah, three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold" (2 Kings xviii. 13, 14).[2]

[1] *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. 152.

[2] * For a pictorial delineation of this siege of Lachish, drawn from Assyrian monuments, see Smith's *Bibl. Dictionary*, vol. ii. p. 1579 f., Amer. ed. — H.

The annals of Sennacherib, son and successor of Sargon, contain a full account of this campaign. "Because Hezekiah, King of Judah," says Sennacherib, "would not submit to my yoke, I came up against him, and by force of arms and by the might of my power *I took forty-six of his strong fenced cities*, and of the smaller towns which were scattered about I took and plundered a countless number. And from these places I captured and carried off as spoil 200,150 people, old and young, male and female, together with horses and mares, asses and camels, oxen and sheep, a countless multitude. And Hezekiah himself I shut up in Jerusalem, like a bird in a cage, building towers round the city to hem him in, and raising banks of earth against the gates to prevent escape. . . . . Then upon this Hezekiah there fell the fear of the power of my arms, and he sent out to me the chiefs and the elders of Jerusalem *with thirty talents of gold* and eight hundred talents of silver, and divers treasures, a rich and immense booty. . . . . All these things were brought to me at Nineveh, the seat of my government, Hezekiah having sent them *by way of tribute*, and as a token of submission to my power."[1] The close agreement of these two accounts is

[1] *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii. pp. 160, 161.

admitted on all hands, and is indeed so palpable that it is needless to enlarge upon it here. The Assyrian monarch, with pardonable pride, brings out fully all the details at which the Hebrew annalist, in his patriotic reticence, only hints, — as the ravage far and wide of the whole territory, the vast numbers of the captives and the spoil, the actual siege and blockade of the capital, the alarm of the Jewish monarch, and his eagerness to propitiate his offended lord, — but his main facts are exactly those which the Jewish historian puts on record, the only apparent discrepancy being in the number of the talents of silver, where he probably counts the whole of the treasure carried off, while the Hebrew writer intends to give the amount of the permanent tribute which was agreed upon. It may be added, that the details, which the author of Kings suppresses, are abundantly noticed in the writings of the contemporary prophet, Isaiah, who describes the ravage of the territory (Isa. xxiv.), the siege of Jerusalem (xxix. 1–8), and the distress and terror of the inhabitants (xxii. 1–14), even more graphically and more fully than the historiographer of Sennacherib.[1]

[1] Compare also 2 Chr. xxxii. 1–8, which gives very fully the preparations for the defense of Jerusalem made by Hezekiah.

Silence of Assyrian records with respect to his second expedition.

On the second expedition of Sennacherib into Syria, which terminated with the terrible disaster related in 2 Kings xix. 35,[1] the annals of Assyria are silent. Such silence is in no way surprising. It has always been the practice in the East to commemorate only the glories of the monarch, and to ignore his defeats and reverses.[2] The Jewish records furnish a solitary exception to this practice. In the entire range of the Assyrian annals there is no case where a monarch admits a disaster, or even a check, to have happened to himself or his generals; and the only way in which we become distinctly aware from the annals themselves that Assyrian history was not an unbroken series of victories and conquests, is from an occasional reference to a defeat or loss as sustained by a former monarch. Otherwise we have to gather the ill-success of the Assyrian arms from silence, from apparent de-

1 * "The angel of the Lord went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand: and when they [the few left, among whom was the king], arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses."

It may have been a pestilential blast under the image of a destroying angel, that occasioned this mortality, or it may have been the result of an angel's more direct unseen agency (Ps. xxxvii. 49; 2 Sam. xxiv. 16). See Dean Stanley's note, *Hist. of the Jewish Church*, vol. ii. p. 530, and Prof. Rawlinson's *Herod.* ii. 141. — H.

2 * See Note on p. 110 of the "Illustrations." — H.

pression, from the discontinuance of expeditions toward this or that quarter. In the present case there is such a discontinuance. Sennacherib during his later years made no expedition further westward than Cilicia; nor were the Assyrian designs against Southern Syria and Egypt resumed till toward the close of the reign of Esarhaddon.

But besides this tacit confirmation of the Scriptural narrative, profane history furnishes us with an important explicit testimony. The Egyptian priests declared to Herodotus, out of their records, that, about a century and a half before the conquest of their country by Cambyses, an invasion of it had been attempted by Sennacherib, King of the Assyrians and Arabians, who marched a vast host to the border of the Egyptian territory, where he was met by the Egyptians under their king, Sethos. The two hosts faced each other near Pelusium, on the most eastern branch of the Nile. Here, as they lay encamped, army over against army, there came, they said, in the night a multitude of field-mice, which devoured all the quivers and bowstrings of the Assyrians, and ate the thongs by which they managed their shields. Next morning, as soon as they discovered what had happened, they commenced

Great destruction of Sennacherib's army confirmed by Herodotus.

their flight, and great multitudes of them fell, as they had no arms wherewith to defend themselves. In commemoration of the event, Sethos, they added, the Egyptian king, erected a monument of himself, which they showed to the Greek traveller. It was a stone statue of a man with a mouse in his hand, and bore an inscription, "Look on me, and learn to reverence the gods."[1] We have here evidently an allegorized version of that terrible calamity which overtook the host of Sennacherib *in the night*, and which was followed in the morning by the hasty flight of the survivors. The particular form of the allegory was determined by the character of the work of art, which had been erected to celebrate the occasion, where the mouse in the hand was probably a mere symbol of ruin and destruction.[2]

Murder of Sennacherib illustrated.

The murder of Sennacherib by two of his sons, though not distinctly related in the Assyrian records, is illustrated by the condition wherein Assyria is found at the commencement of the reign of Esarhaddon. This monarch's inscriptions show that soon after his accession he was engaged for some months in a war with his half-brothers,[3]

[1] Herod. ii. 141.

[2] Compare 1 Sam. vi. 4, 5.

[3] See *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. 186.

who would naturally, after murdering their father, endeavor to seat themselves upon his throne. The Greek historian, Abydenus, alludes to the same struggle;[1] and the Armenian records declared that the two assassins, having made their escape from the scene of conflict, obtained a refuge in Armenia, where the reigning monarch gave them lands, which long continued in the possession of their posterity.[2]

Hezekiah's contemporaries, Tirhakah and Merodach-Baladan known to us from monuments of the period.

The history of Hezekiah, as related in the Second Book of Kings, introduces to our notice, besides Sennacherib and Esarhaddon, two other monarchs, of whom we have mention in profane records. These are "Tirhakah, King of Ethiopia" (2 Kings xix. 9), and "Merodach-Baladan, King of Babylon" (Ib. xx. 12, 13; comp. 2 Chr. xxxii. 31). Tirhakah, King of Ethiopia, is undoubtedly the *Tehrak* of the Egyptian monuments,[3] who reigned over Egypt from B. C. 690 to B. C. 667, and who may have been monarch of Ethiopia for about ten years before he took the title of King of Egypt. He is the third king of Manetho's twenty-fifth or Ethiopian

[1] Ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 9.
[2] Mos. Choren. *Hist. Arm.* i. 22.
[3] See *Biblical Dictionary*, ad voc. TIRHAKAH.

dynasty; and his relations toward Egypt would make it natural for him to bestir himself, when that country was threatened by the advance of Sennacherib's army, and to assume the character of its protector. Merodach-Baladan appears in the Assyrian inscriptions,[1] and also in the famous document known as "the Canon of Ptolemy." He had two reigns at Babylon, separated from each other by an interval. Being an enemy of Assyria, and at war successively with both Sargon and Sennacherib, he would be attracted toward Hezekiah, who had thrown off the Assyrian yoke, and would be glad to conclude with him an alliance. Hence, probably, his embassy, which, if it was in B. C. 713, as the Hebrew numbers make it, belonged to his first reign, when he was contemporary with Sargon, and occupied the Babylonian throne from B. C. 721 to 709. His second reign fell in B. C. 703.

Manasseh's visit to *Babylon* accords with Esarhaddon's residence there.

Of Manasseh's capture and imprisonment at Babylon by a king of Assyria, who, as contemporary with Hezekiah's son and successor, should be Esarhaddon, the son and successor of Hezekiah's antagonist, Sennacherib, it cannot be said that we have any direct profane notice. We find, however, by the Assyrian records,

[1] *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii. pp. 40, 41.

that Manasseh was reckoned by Esarhaddon among his tributaries ;[1] and we have a curious illustration of what is at first sight most surprising in the sacred narrative, namely, the statement that "the captains of the host of the King of Assyria," when they took Manasseh prisoner, carried him with them, not to Nineveh, but *to Babylon* (2 Chr. xxxiii. 11). It appears by the inscriptions, that Esarhaddon not only, like his grandfather, Sargon, took the title of King of Babylon, but that he actually built himself a palace there,[2] in which he must undoubtedly have occasionally resided. Thus there is nothing strange in an important prisoner being brought to him at the southern capital, though such a thing could scarcely have happened to any other Assyrian sovereign.[3]

The cessation of all mention of Assyria in the Jewish records after the reign of Manasseh, and the new attitude taken by Josiah (about B. C. 634–625), who claimed and exercised a sovereignty not only over Judæa, but over Samaria and Galilee (2 Chr. xxxiv. 6), accords well with what we learn from profane

Josiah's greatness in harmony with the parallel decline and fall of Assyria.

[1] *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. 200, note 8.

[2] Ibid. p. 196.

[3] * This is the only narrow margin in the history where the incident could be inserted with any appearance of truth. On this coincidence, see more fully *Bibl. Dictionary*, vol. ii. p. 1774, Amer. ed. — H.

history as to Assyria's decline and final ruin. From about the year B. C. 633 we begin to find Assyria showing symptoms of weakness. In that year, according to Herodotus, Nineveh was attacked by the Medes.[1] Soon afterwards an immense horde of savage invaders from the North seems to have swept across the whole of Western Asia, carrying ruin and desolation over vast regions, and probably afflicting Assyria as much as any other power.[2] About the same time Egypt shook off the Assyrian yoke, and Psamatik I. began aggressions upon Southern Syria. A king who in his old age had become feeble, held the Assyrian sceptre, and the Medes were allowed to increase in strength without an effort being made to keep them in check. At last, about B. C. 626, Nineveh was again besieged by this enemy, who being joined by the Babylonians and Susianians, in a short time gained a complete success. Assyria fell B. C. 625 or 624; Nineveh was razed to the ground; and the Medes and Babylonians divided the empire between them. It was easy for Josiah during this troublous time to free his country from subjection to a hated yoke, and to effect an en-

[1] Herod. i. 102. According to this writer, the last year of Phraortes preceded by seventy-five years the first of Cyrus, B. C. 558.

[2] *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. pp. 221–228.

largement of his dominions at the expense of his less powerful neighbors, who could obtain no help from their nominal suzerain.

Necho's Syrian conquests and their loss confirmed by Herodotus and Berosus.

The war of Josiah with Necho, King of Egypt, and the precedings of that monarch in Syria and Palestine, between the years B. C. 610 and B. C. 604, receive important illustration from the histories of Herodotus and Berosus. Herodotus relates that Necho "made war by land upon the Syrians, and defeated them in a pitched battle at Magdolus;"[1] while Berosus declares that toward the close of the reign of Nabopolassar, or shortly before B. C. 605, troubles broke out in the West; Egypt, Syria, and Phœnicia rose in revolt; and Nabopolassar was forced to send his son Nebuchadnezzar into those parts to put down the insurrection and recover the countries.[2] The Jewish narrative connects and harmonizes these two accounts. It shows us Necho as the first disturber of the tranquillity that prevailed, and indicates to us a design on his part to add to his dominions all Syria as far as Carchemish on the Euphrates (2 Chr. xxxv. 20); it tells us of the opposition offered to this design by Josiah, and his defeat in a pitched battle at Megiddo (Ib. 22–24), the Magdolus of

[1] Herod. ii. 159. [2] Ap. Joseph. *c. Ap.* i. 19.

the Greek writer — it intimates that after this Necho carried out his plans successfully, and for a time ruled over all Syria (2 Kings xxiv. 7); it then records the advance of Nebuchadnezzar, his defeat of Necho (Jer. xlvi. 2), and his recovery of the entire region lying between the Euphrates and the "river of Egypt." Necho after this, it tells us, "came not again any more out of his land;" the yoke of Babylon being henceforth, as Berosus also stated, firmly fixed on the western countries.

Nebuchadnezzar's conquest of Jerusalem confirmed by Berosus.

Of the closing scenes in the history of the kingdom of Judah, the repeated revolts of the Jewish monarchs, their renewed negotiations with Egypt, their deposition by their offended lord, their captivities, and the final punishment of the rebellious race by the destruction of its city and temple, and the deportation of the great mass of the people to Babylon, we could only expect to have detailed confirmation if we possessed the annals of Nebuchadnezzar. Unfortunately, no such document has hitherto been recovered. We know, however, that the history of Berosus, which was based upon native records, stated that "Nebuchadnezzar, having conquered the Jews, burnt the Temple at Jerusalem, and remov-

ing the entire people from their homes, transported them to Babylon;"[1] and we have no reason to doubt that, as the main facts are thus confirmed, so would be the details, if the full history of the time had come down to us. Where history affords the means of testing the details, they are correct. The name of the Egyptian monarch on whom Zedekiah relied is given, in Jer. xliv. 30, as "Hophra,"[2] correctly; for in B. C. 588–586 Apries, or *Haifra-het*, ruled over Egypt.[3] And the length of Nebuchadnezzar's reign and the name of his successor are delivered with the same accuracy by the writer of Kings (2 Kings xxv. 27), whose "Evil-merodach" is clearly the Eveilmaraduchus of the native historian,[4] and whose calculation of the length of Jehoiachin's captivity (Ib.) compared with his statement that that monarch was made prisoner in Nebuchadnezzar's eighth year (Ib. xxiv. 12), produces for the length of Nebuchadnezzar's reign the exact period of forty-three years, which is assigned him both by Berosus[5] and by the Canon of Ptolemy.

[1] Ap. Joseph. *c. Ap.* i. 19.

[2] * In the English version it is "Pharaoh-Hophra," *i. e.* King Hophra; for Pharaoh was not a personal name among the Egyptians, but one of the royal dynastic titles, like Ptolemy, Seleucid, Cæsar. See also 2. K. xxiii. 29, 33, etc. Compare note on p. 35. —H.

[3] Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. pp. 210, 323.

[4] Ap. Joseph. *c. Ap.* i. 21.

[5] Ibid. l. s. c.

Such are the most remarkable of the direct historical illustrations which profane sources furnish for the period of Jewish history between Rehoboam and Zedekiah. They include notices of almost every foreign monarch mentioned in the course of the narrative — of Shishak, Zerah, Benhadad, Hazael, Mesha, Rezin, Pul, Tiglath-pileser, Shalmaneser, So, Sargon, Sennacherib, Tirhakah, Merodach-Baladan, Esarhaddon, Necho, Nebuchadnezzar, Evil-merodach, and Apries, — and of the Jewish or Israelite kings, Omri, Ahab, Jehu, Ahaziah, Menahem, Pekah, Ahaz, Hoshea, Hezekiah, and Manasseh. All these monarchs occur in profane history in the order, and at or near the time which the sacred narrative assigns to them. The synchronisms, which that narrative supplies, are borne out wherever there is any further evidence on the subject. The general condition of the powers which come into contact with the Jews is rightly described; and the fluctuations which they experience, their alternations of glory and depression, are correctly given. No discrepancy occurs between the sacred and the profane throughout the entire period, excepting here and there a chronological one. And these chronological discrepancies are in no case seri-

Wide extent of the illustrations, and insignificance of the apparent discrepancies.

ous. Sennacherib's first expedition against Hezekiah should, according to the Assyrian records, have fallen about thirteen years later than the Hebrew numbers place it; and Menahem's reign in Samaria should have come down about ten years further. The time of Hazael, Jehu, and Ahab, appears by the Assyrian records to have been about forty years later than it is placed by the books of Kings, according to the numbers assigned to the reigns of the Jewish monarchs, or twenty years later than the same authority places it, according to the numbers assigned to the reigns of the kings of Israel. But the Assyrian chronology of this earlier period, it is to be remembered, has come down to us, not on contemporary monuments, but on documents drawn up at a comparatively late date, by the princes of the dynasty of Sargon. Some slight difficulties also occur in adjusting the Egyptian chronology to that of the Hebrews. Tirhakah comes upon the scene seven or eight years earlier, and So (or Shebek) about ten years earlier than we should have expected from our Egyptian authorities. But these authorities do not appear to deserve implicit credence, and may well be in error to the extent required by the sacred narrative. So much corruption has taken place in the numbers of all ancient works, that exact chro-

nology with respect to events in the remote past is unattainable. The judicious student of Ancient History must be content for the most part with approximate dates, and will rely far more upon well-attested synchronisms than upon schemes which have a mere numerical basis.

Further illustration from the accord of Scripture with profane history in respect of manners and customs.

The later narrative of the books of Chronicles and Kings may further receive a certain amount of illustration of an indirect character, from a consideration of the incidental notices which are dropped with respect to the manners and customs of the foreign nations, with which the Jews are in this part of their history represented as coming into contact. Though the sacred narrative is far from giving us in this place such a complete portraiture of the Assyrians or Babylonians as it furnishes in the Pentateuch of the Egyptians, yet, if we add to the picture drawn in Chronicles and Kings the further touches furnished by the contemporary prophets, especially Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, we shall find that we possess, altogether, a description of these peoples, which is capable of comparison with the account of them that has reached us from profane sources. And this comparison, though it cannot be carried to the extent which

was found possible in the case of Egypt,[1] will be found to embrace so many and such minute points as to constitute it an important head of evidence, and one perhaps to many minds more convincing than the direct illustrations adduced hitherto.

Portrait drawn of the Assyrians in Scripture.

The Assyrians are represented as a warlike people, the conquerors of many kings and nations (2 Kings xix. 11–13), possessing numerous chariots (Ib. 23) and horsemen (2 Kings xviii. 23; Is. xxii. 7); terrible as archers (2 Kings xix. 32; Is. v. 28); accustomed to besiege cities by means of banks and forts (Ib. and Is. xxix. 3) as well as to "come before them with shields" (2 Kings xix. 32); merciless when victorious; accustomed to break down and destroy the towns of the enemy (Is. xxxvii. 26), and to carry their inhabitants away captive (2 Kings xv. 29; xvii. 6, etc.), young and old, often "naked and barefoot" (Is. xx. 4), replacing them by colonists from a distance (2 Kings xvii. 24; Ezr. iv. 2). The Assyrian government is represented as an empire over numerous tributary kings (Is. x. 8; 2 Kings xvi. 7; xix. 13, etc.). The monarch stands out prominently at its head. He is "the *great* King, even the King of Assyria" (2 Kings xviii.

[1] See above, pp. 41–55, and 73–81.

28), lord and master of all, even the most exalted of his subjects (Ib. 27), far removed above any rival. Next to him in apparent rank is the Tartan, who commands his armies in his absence (Is. xx. 1; comp. 2 Kings xviii. 17), after whom come the Rabsaris, and the Rabshakeh, who, by their names, should be "the chief eunuch," and "the chief cupbearer," grand officers who represent their master in embassies (2 Kings l. s. c.). The King of Assyria usually makes war in person, marching out from Nineveh at the head of armies, which appear not to exceed about 200,000 men (2 Kings xix. 35). He fights, not merely for the sake of empire, with its concomitants of homage and tribute (2 Kings xvii. 4; xviii. 14), but also in order to possess himself of the valuable commodities peculiar to the conquered countries. For example, he covets Syria, especially in order that he "may go up to the height of the mountains, to the sides of Lebanon, and cut down the tall cedars thereof, and the choice fir-trees thereof" (2 Kings xix. 23; comp. Is. xiv. 8). He imprisons the monarchs who offend him (2 Kings xvii. 4), and makes them languish long in a wearisome confinement (2 Chr. xxxiii. 11, 12; Is. xiv. 17), but occasionally has pity upon them and restores them to their long-

lost thrones (2 Chr. xxxiii. 13). There is one peculiarly barbarous custom, which he sanctions, with respect to these unfortunates. When they have rebelled and been captured, they are brought before him with a hook or ring passed through their lip or their jaw, and a thong or cord attached to it, by which their captor leads them.[1]

Again, the magnificence and luxury of the Assyrians is noted. They are "clothed with blue" (Ezek. xxiii. 6), "most gorgeously" (Ib. 12); they deal "in broidered work and in chests of rich apparel" (Ib. xxvii. 24); their merchants are "multiplied above the stars of heaven" (Nah. iii. 16); Nineveh is full of the spoil of silver and the spoil of gold; there is none end of the store and glory out of all of the pleasant furniture" (Ib. ii. 9). The people combine a degree of civilization and luxury scarcely reached elsewhere, with a sternness, a fierceness, and a military spirit seldom found among Orientals, after habits of primitive savagery have been cast aside.

[1] This is the real meaning of the passage incorrectly rendered in the Authorized Version (2 Chr. xxxiii. 11), "which [the Assyrians] took Manasseh *among the thorns*" [where "took Manasseh with the hooks" (see also Am. iv. 2), is the correct rendering]. The practice is also glanced at in 2 Kings xix. 28, as one that the Jews in their day of success might employ against the Assyrians. A bas-relief discovered at Khorsabad illustrates this practice. See *Bibl. Dict.* vol. ii. p. 1086, Amer. ed.

The picture thus presented to us is in striking accord with the character of the Assyrians, of their monarchy, of their mode of warfare, of their favorite habits and practices, as they may be gathered from the sculptured monuments and inscriptions. These exhibit to us the Assyrian people as, from first to last, a warrior nation, delighting in battle even while well acquainted with all the softer arts of peace, and engaged in a constant series of aggressions upon their neighbors. They show us the army divided into distinct corps, of which the most important are the chariots, and the horsemen.[1] Swords and spears are used by the warriors; but the weapon on which most dependence is placed, is the bow.[2] The siege of cities is a favorite subject of representation with the artists, who exhibit the "mounds," or "banks," piled against the walls, and further portray the movable "forts" or "towers," which elevate the besiegers to a level with the battlements of the fortified place, and enable them to engage its defenders on an equal footing.[3] At the same

Agreement of the portrait with the Assyrian sculptures and inscriptions.

1 *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i. p. 422.

2 Ibid. pp. 421, 424, etc.

3 Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, First Series, pl. 19.

* See the plate, which represents such a scene, in Smith's *Bibl. Dict.* vol. ii. p. 1579, Amer. ed. It depicts the siege of

time we see bodies of archers, with their shields planted firmly before them, who thus protected drive the enemy from the walls with flights of arrows.[1] Towns when taken are ruthlessly demolished, the ramparts and towers being broken down, or the entire place destroyed by fire.[2] The inhabitants are carried off in vast numbers, without distinction of age or sex; men, women, and children being alike barefoot, and the children not unfrequently naked.[3] Transplantation of the conquered races appears in the inscriptions as a system; and it is a feature of the system to remove to vast distances.[4] Captive kings are imprisoned, commonly at Nineveh;[5] occasionally, after a term of imprisonment, they are pardoned and restored to their thrones.[6] The barbarous custom of passing a hook or ring

Lachish by Sennacherib (2 Chr. xxxii. 9; 2 K. xviii. 17), as sculptured on slabs found in one of the chambers of the palace of Koyunjik. For a remarkable inscription relating to Hezekiah and the Jews on one of the Babylonian cylinders, see *Bibl. Dict.* vol. ii. p. 1061, Amer. ed.; and Prof. Rawlinson, *Bampton Lectures* for 1859, p. 316 ff., Amer. ed. Dean Milman calls attention to this coincidence as very remarkable (*History of the Jews*, vol. i. p. 427, Amer. ed.). — H.

[1] Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, Second Series, pls. 18, 20, and 21.

[2] *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i. p. 474.

[3] See Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, Second Series, pls. 18, 19, 22, 23, etc.

[4] *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. 152.

[5] Ibid. pp. 159, 173, 202, etc. [6] Ibid. p. 202.

through the lip of an important prisoner, and leading him about by a thong attached to it, is exhibited in the sculptures, where captives thus treated are brought into the king's presence by their captors.[1]

Again, the Assyrian government is proved to have been such as represented in Scripture. The empire is a congeries of kingdoms, its different portions being for the most part ruled by the native princes of the several countries, who render to their suzerain tribute and service, but are allowed to govern their respective territories without any control or interference.[2] The monarch is supreme, irresistible, set on an unapproachable height above his subjects, — a sort of god upon earth. Next to him in rank stands the "Tartan," or commander-in-chief, who leads out his armies when he is sick or otherwise indisposed, and whose acts are frequently confounded with those of his master.[3] Not much below the Tartan is the "Chief Eunuch," who has a right of near approach to his master's person, introduces strangers to him, and attends to his comforts.[4] The "Chief Cupbearer" does

[1] *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i. pp. 243, 244, and 292.

[2] Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 235, 236.

[3] The Tartan occurs next to the monarchs in the lists of Eponyms. For the confusion between his acts and those of the king, see *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. 101, note 3.

[4] *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i. pp. 498, 502.

not make his appearance on the sculptures, which nowhere represent the king at a banquet; but the general character of the Assyrian court would lead us to expect such an officer. It is the ordinary practice of the king to engage in war year after year; and the expeditions which he undertakes he usually conducts in person. The monarchs whom he chastises or subdues, he requires to fall down before his footstool and do him service; while at the same time he lays upon them some permanent burden in the shape of a fixed tribute. He is, further, in the habit of cutting timber in the forests belonging to the conquered nations, and transporting it to Assyria, to be used in the construction of his palaces.[1] The armies which he leads out seem rarely much to exceed 200,000 men.[2]

The magnificence of the Assyrians is very apparent in the sculptures and the other remains. The remains comprise terra-cotta and alabaster vases of elegant forms, gold earrings, glass bottles, carved ornaments in ivory and mother-of-pearl, engraved gems, bells, beautiful bronze dishes elaborately ornamented with embossed work, statuettes,

[1] *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i. pp. 474, 475; and vol. ii. p. 237, note 10.

[2] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 236, note 7.

enameled bricks, necklaces, combs, mirrors, etc.;[1] while the sculptures represent to us embroidered garments of the richest kind,[2] splendid head-dresses, armlets and bracelets, metal goblets in excellent taste, elegant furniture, elaborate horse-trappings, dagger handles exquisitely chased, parasols, fans, musical instruments of ten or twelve different sorts, hanging gardens, paradises, pleasure-boats, and numerous other indications of advanced civilization, refinement, and luxury.[3] It is concluded with justice from them, that, towards the close of their empire, the Assyrians were in all the arts and appliances of life very nearly on a par with ourselves.

A similar comparison might be made between what we learn from Kings and Chronicles of the kingdom and people of Babylon, and that picture of them which may be gathered from profane sources. But as Babylon was the scene of the Captivity, which will form the main subject of the next chapter,

[1] See Mr. Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, chaps. viii. and xxv. especially.

[2] * It was such a "Babylonish garment" (lit. "garment of Shinar" or Babylonia), that Achan took among the spoils of the Canaanites, and attempted to conceal (Josh. vii. 21). The Babylonian marble and the Hebrew scroll (so wide apart from each other in time, place, and mode of testimony) agree together here in a remarkable manner. — H.

[3] *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. pp. 365–400, and 484–590.

and as the most complete account which Scripture gives of it is contained in the pages of Daniel, the consideration of whose "book" we are now about to enter upon, the exhibition of such agreement as exists in this matter will be reserved for a later portion of this volume.

CHAPTER VI.

DANIEL.

Historical character of the book of Daniel.

THE book of Daniel is almost as much historical as prophetical. In the Hebrew Canon its place is between Esther and Ezra, two books, both of which are histories. One entire half of it (chaps. i.–vi.) is a narrative of events, and is as capable of receiving historical illustration as any other portion of the Sacred Volume. Daniel, moreover, supplies a gap in the Biblical history, which is not otherwise filled up by any sacred writer. He is the historian of the Captivity, the writer who alone furnishes any series of events for that dark and dismal period, during which the harp of Israel hung silently on the trees that grew by the Euphrates. His narrative may be said, in a general way, to intervene between Kings and Chronicles, on the one hand, and Ezra on the other, or (more strictly) to fill out the sketch which the author of Chronicles gives in a single verse of his last chapter, "And them that had escaped from the sword carried he"

(*i. e.* Nebuchadnezzar) "away to Babylon, where they were servants to him and his sons until the reign of the kingdom of Persia" (2 Chr. xxxvi. 20). We learn from Daniel particulars of this servitude.

The main events related in Daniel are the long and glorious reign of Nebuchadnezzar, the great king of Babylon, who both commenced and completed the captivity of the Jews; his elevation of Daniel to a position of high authority in his kingdom; his treatment of the "Three Children," Ananias, Azarias, and Misael; his dreams, his terrible illness, and recovery; the impiety and punishment of Belshazzar; the capture of Babylon; the accession of "Darius the Mede," and his treatment of Daniel; and the accession, a year or two later, of "Cyrus the Persian." These events, it will be observed, are partly of a public, partly of a private character. The names and reigns of kings, their acts and fate, the order of their succession and general character of their government, the transfer of empire from one race or nation to another, and the like, are of the former kind; the particular treatment of individuals among their subjects is of the latter. It is, of course, only of the former class of facts that we can expect illustrations from pro-

Chief events related in it.

fane history; and to them, accordingly, the inquiry will be confined in the following pages.

Chronological difficulties of the early chapters cleared by a passage of Berosus.

Daniel opens with some chronological statements which, at first sight, seems self-contradictory. He relates that, in a certain year of the reign of Jehoiakim, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, went up to Jerusalem, and besieged it (i. 1); that, the siege being successful, he carried off from the city certain captives, among whom was Daniel, and delivered him into the care of his chief eunuch, with an injunction that he should educate him *for three years*, and then bring him into his presence (i. 3–6); that this was done, and the captives were admitted among the "wise men" (i. 18–20); and that after this, in the *second year* of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, they were brought into danger by a decree which commanded that the wise men should be put to death (ii. 1–13). We are enabled to reconcile these statements by finding in Berosus [1] that the first expedition of Nebuchadnezzar against Syria, and the commencement of the Jewish captivity, took place towards the close of the reign of Nabopolassar, Nebuchadnezzar's father, in B. C. 605, or possibly in B. C. 606; between which time and

[1] Ap. Joseph. *c. Ap.* i. 19.

Nebuchadnezzar's second year, B. C. 603, there would be room for the three years' instruction spoken of; more especially as "three years," according to the Hebrew usage, means no more than one whole year and parts, however small, of two other years. Thus, if Daniel were taken to Babylon in the autumn of B. C. 605, and placed at once under the chief eunuch, he might have been presented to Nebuchadnezzar as educated early in B. C. 603, and before the close of that year have run the risk of destruction, and escaped from it. Nebuchadnezzar's second year would not be out till the Thoth of B. C. 602, according to Babylonian modes of reckoning. The only difficulty that remains, if it be a difficulty, is that Nebuchadnezzar is called "King of Babylon" in Dan. i. 1, when he was merely crown prince and commander-in-chief on behalf of his father. But this is a *prolepsis* common to most writers of history.[1]

The fact of the Jewish Captivity commencing as early as B. C. 605, which is involved in

[1] See Dr. Pusey's *Lectures on Daniel*, p. 400 (3d ed.). Dr. Pusey well remarks: "We should naturally say, 'Queen Victoria was carefully educated by her mother,' or 'the Emperor Napoleon passed some years of his life in England;' although the education of our Queen was concluded before her accession to the throne, and the Emperor's residence here was before his accession, and while he was in exile."

Other confirmations of the narrative from the same passage.

what has here been said, and is important in connection with the number of years that the Captivity is declared to have lasted, receives confirmation from the same passage of Berosus, who distinctly states that Nebuchadnezzar not only at this time "reduced Syria," but also "carried Jewish captives into Babylonia, and planted colonies of them in various suitable places." [1] Berosus also relates that he "adorned magnificently the temple of Bel from the spoils taken in this war," — a remark which accords well with Daniel's statement, that "the Lord gave into his hand . . . . part of the vessels of the house of God, which he carried into the land of Shinar to the house of his god; and *he brought the vessels into the treasure-house of his god*" (verse 2).

General character of Nebuchadnezzar's kingdom, in close agreement with profane history and with the Babylonian remains.

The extent, glory, and splendor of Nebuchadnezzar's kingdom are strongly stated by Daniel in his second, third, and fourth chapters. Nebuchadnezzar is "a king of kings" (ii. 37); God has given him "a kingdom, power, strength, and glory" (Ib.); he has under him "princes, governors, and captains, judges, treasurers, councilors, sheriffs, and rulers of provinces" (iii.

[1] Berosus, l. s. c.

2); he has "grown, and become strong" (iv. 22); his "greatness is grown, and reacheth unto heaven, and his dominion to the end of the earth" (Ib.). Walking in the palace of the kingdom of Babylon, he exclaims, "Is not this great Babylon, *which I have built* for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honor of my majesty?" (iv. 30). In all this we may seem at first sight to have the language of Oriental hyperbole. But profane writers, and the remains in the country itself, agree in testifying to the almost literal truth and correctness of the entire portrait. "Nebuchadnezzar," says Abydenus,[1] "having ascended the throne, fortified Babylon with a triple enceinte, which he completed in fifteen days. He made likewise the Armacales (*Nahr malcha*, or 'Royal river'), a branch stream from the Euphrates; and he excavated above the city of Sippara (Sepharvaim) a great reservoir, forty *farsakhs* in circumference and twenty fathoms deep, and arranged flood-gates so that by opening them it was possible to irrigate the entire plain. Moveover, he built quays along the shore of the Red Sea, to check the force of the waves, and founded there the city of Teredon, to

[1] Ap. Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 41. Compare Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 10.

repress the inroads of the Arabs. And he adorned his palace with trees and shrubs, constructing what are called 'the Hanging Gardens,' which the Greeks reckon among the Seven Wonders of the World. . . . . He was more valiant than Hercules; he led expeditions into Africa and Iberia, and, having reduced the inhabitants, transported some of them to the eastern shores of the Euxine." "He adorned," says Berosus,[1] "the temple of Belus, and the other temples, with the spoils which he had taken in war; and having strongly fortified the city, and beautified the gates exceedingly, he added to his ancestral palace a second palace in the immediate neighborhood, very lofty and costly — 'twere tedious, perchance, to describe it at length, wherefore I say no more than this, that, vast as was its size and magnificent as was its character, the whole was begun and finished in fifteen days. And he upreared in this palace a stone erection of great height, to which he gave an appearance as nearly as possible like that of mountains, and planted it with trees of various kinds, thus forming the far-famed Hanging Garden." Modern research has shown that Nebuchadnezzar was the greatest monarch that Babylon, or perhaps the East

[1] Ap. Joseph. *c. Ap.* i. 20.

generally, ever produced. He must have possessed an enormous command of human labor. Nine-tenths of Babylon itself, and nineteen-twentieths of all the other ruins that in almost countless profusion cover the land, are composed of bricks stamped with his name. He appears to have built or restored almost every city and temple in the whole country.[1] His inscriptions give an elaborate account of the immense works which he constructed in and about Babylon itself, abundantly illustrating the boast, "Is not this Great Babylon, which I have built?" His wealth and the magnificence of his court, seem to have been on a par with the number and size of his buildings. A lavish use of the precious metals characterized his architecture.[2] His palace, called "The Wonder of Mankind," was "with many chambers and lofty towers;" its pillars and beams were "plated with copper;" "silver and gold, and precious stones whose names were almost unknown," were stored up inside in a treasure-house, as well as many other valuable objects which cannot be distinctly identified.[3]

[1] *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii. pp. 56, 57.

[2] Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 546–548.

[3] *Standard Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar* (given in *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii. pp. 77–79).

* For a description of the "hanging gardens" of this mon-

There are two or three points in the history of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, as delivered to us by Daniel, to which rationalistic writers have objected as "incorrect statements," and which they have regarded as marks of the work having been composed long after the events whereof it treats.[1] One of these is the mention by Daniel of "satraps" among the great officers of Nebuchadnezzar (iii. 2, 3, 27), which is regarded as erroneous, since satraps were a Persian institution, and the regular satrapial system dated from Darius Hystaspis. Now here it may be granted that the term which Daniel uses, a Hebrew word corresponding as nearly as possible to the Persian *khshatrapa*, "satrap," is not likely to have been employed by the Babylonians under Nebuchadnezzar. But it can scarcely be supposed to be improbable that the Babylonians employed provincial governors,[2] at any rate to some extent; and this is what the

Supposed "historical inaccuracies" examined.

1. "Satraps" of Nebuchadnezzar.

arch, see Smith's *Bibl. Dict.* vol. iii. p. 2087, Amer. ed. The object of it was to give him an arbor high enough in the air to protect him against the mosquitos. — H.

[1] Von Lengerke, *Das Buch Daniel*, Einleitung, § 13, p. lxiii.; De Wette, *Einleitung in das alt. Test.* § 255, a [and later ed. (1869), De Wette–Schrader, § 314, p. 494].

[2] Gedaliah is such a governor in Judæa (2 Kings xxv. 22); and Berosus speaks of a "governor of Syria" under Nabopolassar. He even calls this governor a "satrap" (ap. Joseph. *c. Ap.* i. 19).

word "satrap" means, and what it was calculated to suggest to a Jewish reader or hearer. Daniel, writing under Cyrus, when the word had become familiar to the Jews,[1] uses it in lieu of some Babylonian term of corresponding signification, placing it at the head of a somewhat barbarous list, to indicate clearly and at once to his readers the general character of the many obscure terms by which it is followed.

2. Classes of "Wise men."

The representation made in Daniel of the *four* classes of "wise men" at Babylon (ii. 2; v. 11), has been taxed with error on the wholly irrelevant ground that Porphyry, and after him Eusebius, divide the Magi into *three* classes only. As there is every reason to believe that the "wise men" of Babylon were wholly and entirely distinct from the Magi of the Medes and later Persians, the argument adduced is absolutely without value.

3. Daniel's admission among them and appointment to be their head.

But, it has been urged,[2] at any rate it is inconceivable, that the "wise men," being a hereditary caste, and having a priestly character, should have consented to receive Daniel and his

[1] Cyrus is said by Xenophon to have appointed satraps over most parts of his empire (*Cyrop.* viii. 6, § 7). Herodotus makes him leave a satrap in Lydia (i. 153). According to Nicolas of Damascus, Cambyses, the father of Cyrus, was "satrap of Persia," under the Medes (Fr. 66).

[2] De Wette, l. s. c.

companions among them. Still more inconceivable is it that they should have allowed him to be placed over them (Dan. ii. 48). And, further, it is scarcely compatible with Daniel's character for piety that he should have been willing to be enrolled among such a class, much less have consented to take them under his protection. Objections of this kind proceed mainly from a misconception of the true position and character of the Babylonian "wise men." It is clear from the profane accounts of them which have come down to us, that they were more a *learned* than a priestly caste, "corresponding rather to the graduates of a university than the clergy of an establishment." [1] The enrollment of a Jewish prince (Dan. i. 3) among them is no more strange than the matriculation of an Egyptian prince at Oxford; nor would Daniel more compromise his principles by a study of their learning than a Mohammedan or a Hindoo does his by attendance on the lectures of our professors. Daniel's elevation to the position of their chief may with more reason be adduced as a difficulty; but it must be remembered that in an Oriental despotism the monarch disposes, absolutely at his pleasure, of all dignities, and that no "consent" on the part of any of his subjects is deemed necessary.

[1] *Bampton Lectures* by Rawlinson, for 1859 (Eng. ed.), p. 163

The strange malady which afflicted Nebuchadnezzar for the space of seven years (Dan. iv. 32),[1] has been thought to receive illustration from an inscription, in which occur a number of negative clauses, apparently indicating a suspension for a certain period of the monarch's great works.[2] But the inscription is too much mutilated for the sense of it to be clearly ascertained; and an explanation of its meaning has been given, which prevents it from having any bearing of the kind originally suspected. No stress, therefore, can be laid upon this document; but still profane history is not without some trace of the extraordinary occurrence. Historians of Babylon place at about the period whereto it belongs the reign of a queen to whom are ascribed works which others declare to be Nebuchadnezzar's.[3] It seems not un-

Mysterious malady of Nebuchadnezzar hinted at by profane writers.

1 * "He was driven from man, and did eat grass as oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagle's *feathers*, and his nails like bird's *claws*" (Dan. iv. 33). The malady is one not unknown to physicians, and is called 'Lycanthropy.' The victim thinks himself a beast and not a man, walks on all fours, ceases to speak, and rejects all ordinary food. The queen, no doubt, exercised the royal power during this incapacitation of the monarch. We are to think of him during this time, not as roaming at large, but confined in the gardens of the palace. See Rawlinson's *Monarchies of the Ancient World*, p. 503 (Lond. 1865). — H.

2 *Bampton Lectures*, by Rawlinson, for 1859, p. 166.

3 Herod. i. 185. Compare Abyden. ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 10.

likely that during the malady of her husband, the favorite wife of Nebuchadnezzar may have been practically at the head of affairs, and in that case, works constructed at this time may have gone indifferently by her name or by his. Again, there was a remarkable statement in the work of the great Babylonian historian, that Nebuchadnezzar "fell into a state of infirm health" some time before his decease:[1] and this statement was enlarged upon by another ancient writer, who thus related the seizure, last words, and death of the monarch:[2] —

"After this, the Chaldeans say, that Nebuchadnezzar, having mounted to the roof of his palace, was seized with a divine afflatus, and broke into speech as follows: 'I, Nebuchadnezzar, foretell to you, O Babylonians, the calamity which is about to fall upon you, which Bel, my forefather, and Queen Beltis are alike unable to persuade the fates to avert. A Persian mule will come, assisted by your gods, and will bring slavery upon you, with his accomplice, a Mede, the pride of the Assyrians. Would that, ere he lay this yoke upon my countrymen, some whirlpool or flood might engulf him, and make him wholly disappear! Or would that, pursuing another course, he were borne through the wilderness, where is neither city nor track of man,

[1] Beros. ap. Joseph. *c. Ap.* i. 20.
[2] Abyd. ap. Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 41.

but wild beasts have their pasture in it, and birds haunt it, that there he might wander among the rocks and torrent-beds alone! And would that I, ere these thoughts entered my mind, had closed my life more happily!' Thus having prophesied, he suddenly disappeared from sight."

This passage is very remarkable as combining the fact of a seizure with the locality of the palace roof (perhaps implied in Dan. iv. 29), with a disappearance from the face of men, and with the exertion of a prophetic power (not claimed for any other Babylonian monarch), such as we find to have been actually accorded to Nebuchadnezzar, according to the narrative of Daniel (chaps. ii. and iv.). The terms of the prophecy are also very remarkable, as containing a covert allusion to the fate of Nebuchadnezzar himself, and as furnishing almost the only notice in the whole range of profane history which throws light upon the position assigned by Daniel to "Darius the Mede."

Difficulties connected with the name and fate of Belshazzar.

From the narrative of events belonging to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, our author makes a sudden transition to the fatal night when the Babylonian kingdom came to an end, being absorbed into the Medo-Persian. As he is primarily a prophet, and only secondarily a historian, he

is in no way bound to make his narrative continuous; and thus he does not relate the death of Nebuchadnezzar, nor the accession of his son, nor the troubles that followed thereupon, but, omitting a period of some five-and-twenty years, proceeds at once from Nebuchadnezzar's recovery of his senses to the closing scene of Babylonian history, the feast of Belshazzar, and the Persian capture of Babylon. Until a few years since, this portion of his narrative presented difficulties to the historical inquirer which seemed quite insoluble. Profane historians of unimpeachable character[1] related that the capture of Babylon by the Medo-Persians took place in the reign of a Babylonian king, called Nabonnedus (or Labynetus), not of one called Belshazzar; they said that this Nabonnedus was not of the royal stock of Nebuchadnezzar,[2] to which, according to Daniel (v. 11), Belshazzar belonged; they stated, moreover, that he was absent from Babylon at the time of its capture;[3] and that, instead of being slain in the sack of the town, as Belshazzar was (Dan. v. 30), he was made prisoner and kindly treated by the conqueror.[4] Thus the

[1] Berosus, Abydenus, and Herodotus.

[2] Abyden. ap. Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 41; Beros. ap. Joseph. *c. Ap.* i. 21.

[3] Beros. l. s. c.

[4] Ibid. Compare Abyden. l. s. c.

profane and the sacred narrative seemed to be contradictory at all points; and Rationalists were never tired of urging that here at least the narrative of Scripture was plainly unhistoric and untrustworthy.

A very simple discovery, made a few years ago in Lower Babylon, has explained in the most satisfactory way all these apparent contradictions. Nabonnedus, the last native king of Babylon, according to Berosus, Herodotus, and Ptolemy, states that his eldest son bore the name of Bel-shar-ezer, and speaks of him in a way which shows that he had associated him in the government.[1] Hence we learn that there were two kings of Babylon at the time of the last siege, Nabonnedus (or Labynetus), the father, and Belsharezer (or Belshazzar), the son. The latter was intrusted with the command within the city, while the former occupied a stronghold in the neighborhood; the latter alone perished, the former escaped. It is the former only of whom trustworthy historians relate that he was not of the royal stock; the latter may have been, if his father took the ordinary precaution of marrying into the deposed house. The fact that the Bab-

These difficulties removed by a recent discovery.

[1] On the discovery of the cylinder containing this notice, see *Athenæum* of March 1854, p. 341.

ylonian throne was at this time occupied conjointly by two monarchs is indicated in the sacred narrative by a curious *casual* touch. Belshazzar, anxious to obtain the interpretation of the miraculous "handwriting upon the wall," proclaims that whoever reads it shall be made "the *third* ruler in the kingdom" (Dan. v. 7). In every other similar case,[1] the reward is the elevation of the individual, who does the service, to the *second* place in the kingdom, the place next to the king. The only reason that can be assigned for the variation in this instance is, that the first and second places were both filled, and that therefore the highest assignable reward was the *third* place.

Daniel's account of the capture of Babylon confirmed by profane history.

With Daniel's graphic description of the condition of things inside Babylon on the night of the capture, we have no profane account that we can compare. The accounts of the capture which have reached us come from Persian sources, and describe mainly what went on outside the city. There are, however, some striking points of coincidence between the sacred and profane narratives. In both it is evident that the assault was wholly unexpected, — that the capture came on the inhabitants

[1] Compare Gen. xli. 40–45; Esther x. 3; Dan. ii. 48, 49.

as a complete surprise. In both it is noted that at the time of the capture a grand festival was in progress.[1] In both finally, it appears that the time chosen for the assault was the night.[2] Profane writers assign a sufficient reason for this choice, since the stratagem by which the town was entered required darkness to secure its success.[3]

In the closing words of Daniel's fifth chapter, and in the narrative which follows in the sixth, a real difficulty meets us. "Darius the Mede" is a personage of whom profane history is still ig-

Difficulty connected with Daniel's "Darius the Mede."

[1] Dan. v. 1. Compare Herod. i. 191; Xen. *Cyrop.* vii. 5, § 15.

[2] Xen. *Cyrop.* vii. 5, §§ 15–33.

[3] Both Herodotus and Xenophon make Cyrus enter the town by the bed of the Euphrates, after drawing off the water from it artificially. If the sinking of the water had been seen, the river gates would have been shut.

* Daniel's singular abruptness and brevity (Dan. v. 30) certainly indicate that he consciously suppresses much more than he says: "In that night (of carousal) was Belshazzar slain." We are not told who slew him, or why it was by night, or what made the victory so sudden and complete. This brevity indicates a latent history for us, with which Daniel and his contemporaries must have been well acquainted. The draining of the Euphrates and the sudden irruption of the Persians and the imbecility of the drunken revelers are assumed as well known at that time, but must be learnt by us from other sources. Prof. Rawlinson has given us a remarkably vivid picture of the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, and the attendant circumstances in his *Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*, vol. iii. pp. 516–518. I have inserted the passage in Smith's *Bibl. Dict.* vol. i p. 220, Amer. ed. — H.

norant; and the ascription to him by Daniel of royal rank (vi. 6, etc.), is curious and surprising. There cannot be a doubt that the real king of Babylon, from the moment of its capture, was Cyrus the Persian, who is made the immediate successor of Nabonnedus (Labynetus) by Herodotus, Berosus, and Ptolemy.[1] Darius the Mede can, therefore, have been no more than a viceroy or deputy-king, a ruler set up by Cyrus, when he had effected the conquest. And thus much is really indicated in the Hebrew text, where the expressions translated "Darius the Median *took the kingdom*" (v. 31), and "which *was made king* over the realm of the Chaldæans" (ix. 1), signify that the person mentioned was set upon his throne by another.[2] It was, however, certainly not the general habit of the Persians to appoint viceroys over provinces; their practice was to appoint "governors" or 'satraps;" and though satraps were practically a sort of petty kings, yet they had not the title; and it is not likely that a mere ordinary satrap would have been spoken of as Darius the Mede is spoken of by Daniel.[3] We have,

[1] Herod. i. 188–201; Beros. ap. Joseph. *c. Ap.* i. 21; Ptol. *Mag. Synt.*

[2] Prof. Rawlinson's *Bampton Lectures* for 1859, Appendix, p. 445 [and p. 357, Amer. ed.]; Pusey's *Lectures on Daniel*, p 397.

[3] See particularly Dan. vi. 28.

then, to ask if profane history suggests any explanation of the anomaly, that the individual appointed by Cyrus to govern Babylonia, though the Babylonians knew that he was a mere satrap, and therefore did not enter his name on their royal lists, seemed to the Jews who lived under him an actual monarch.

Possible solution of the difficulty.

Now here the passage of Abydenus, above quoted,[1] is of importance. Abydenus makes Nebuchadnezzar prophesy that Babylon should be taken by two persons — a Persian and a Mede — in combination (compare Dan. v. 28). And he applies to the Mede a remarkable epithet, "the pride of the Assyrians." A *Mede*, who was the pride of the *Assyrians*, must almost necessarily have been a prince who had ruled over those two nations. Such a prince had been made prisoner by Cyrus, some twenty years before his capture of Babylon;[2] and it is in accordance with what is elsewhere related of him that he should have advanced this monarch, if he was still alive, to the post of Babylonian satrap.[3] In this case, the Oriental respect for regal rank would have been likely to show itself in the assignment of the royal

[1] *Supra*, pp. 168, 169. [2] Herod. i. 129.

[3] See what is related of his treatment of Nabonnedus by Berosus (ap. Joseph. *c. Ap.* i. 21).

title to one who had formerly been a great monarch. Thus the hypothesis that "Darius the Mede" is the Astyages of Herodotus and Ctesias, which has been maintained by many critics,[1] solves the chief difficulties of Daniel's narrative,[2] while it harmonizes with the expression in Abydenus.

Profane testimony to an early Darius.

To this it may be added, that profane history speaks distinctly of a King Darius, more ancient than the son of Hystaspes,[3] a monarch who, according to some, was the first to introduce into Western Asia the silver coin known as the daric, which took its name from him. This Darius may have been "Darius Medus," since we have nowhere any account of any other Darius "more ancient than the son of Hystaspes."

Daniel's narrative of events under Darius the Mede accords with profane accounts of Medo-Persic practices and ideas.

In the short narrative which belongs in Daniel to the reign of this Median prince, while there are a certain number of points whereon profane history which is scanty with respect to the internal organization of a Persian province, sheds no light, there occur several which harmonize completely with what we know of Medo-Persian ideas

[1] As Syncellus, Jackson, Marsham, and Winer.

[2] See *Bampton Lectures*, by Prof. Rawlinson, for 1859, Appendix, p. 445 [and p. 357, Amer. ed.].

[3] Harpocration, *ad voc.* Δαρεικός.

and practices from profane sources. For instance, the predominant legal idea in the account given of Daniel's exposure to the lions is the irrevocability of a royal edict, — the settled law among the Medes and Persians, "that no decree nor statute which the king establisheth may be changed" (Dan. vi. 15). Now, in this two principles are involved: one, the existence of a settled law, or rule, by which the king himself, theoretically at any rate, is bound, and which he cannot alter; the other, the inclusion under this law, or rule, of the irrevocability of a royal decree or promise. Both of these principles are recognized as Medo-Persic by profane writers. We are told that Cambyses, one of the most despotic of the Persian monarchs, when he wished to contract an incestuous marriage, applied to the crown lawyers to know if they could *find a law* to justify him in indulging his inclination.[1] And we find Xerxes, the son of Darius Hystaspis, brought into almost exactly the same dilemma as "Darius the Mede," bound by having passed his word and anxious to retract it, but unable to do so on account of the law, and therefore compelled to allow the perpetration of cruelties whereof he entirely disapproved.[2] Again, it accords with Medo-

[1] Herod. iii. 31.

[2] Ibid. ix. 109–111.

Persic ideas that the mode of capital punishment in Babylonia, which, under the native monarchs, had been burning in a furnace (Dan. iii. 6), should under the new *régime* have been changed to an exposure to wild beasts; since the religious notions of the Medo-Persians forbade the pollution of fire by contact with a corpse,[1] while they allowed and approved the devouring of human bodies by animals.[2] Thirdly, the inclusion of the guiltless wives and children of criminals in their punishment, which is seen to have been the established practice under Darius the Mede, by Dan. vi. 24, appears frequently in Persian history as part of the ordinary administration of the criminal law under the Achæmenian kings.[3] Even such a little point as the habit of a Median monarch to have music played to him at his nightly meal, which is implied in Dan. vi. 18, is capable of illustration from the profane accounts that have come down to us of the manners of the Median court.[4] The tone, moreover, of the decree, ascribed to Darius, in Dan. vi. 26, 27, is com-

[1] Herod. iii. 16; Nic. Damasc. Fr. 68.

[2] *Zendavesta*, Farg. v. to Farg. viii.; Herod. i. 140; Strab. xv. 3, § 20.

[3] Herod. iii. 119; Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 56; Plutarch, *Vit. Artax.* c. 2.

[4] See *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. 423.

pletely harmonious with Medo-Persic ideas, its basis being the identification of the Jehovah of the Jews with the Zoroastrian Ormazd, the one supreme God of the Medo-Persic people.

Harmony between Daniel's notes of time and profane chronology.

There is, further, a noticeable harmony between profane chronology and that account of the lapse of time which may be gathered from the book of Daniel. The book itself is remarkably devoid of formal chronological statements, all the notes of time which occur in it being incidental, and, so to speak, casual. We find, however, from the first chapter (ver. 1), that the Captivity commenced in the "third year of king Jehoiakim;" and we gather from ch. ix. 2–19, that in the first year of Darius the Mede the seventy years which the Captivity was to last, according to Jeremiah (xxv. 11, 12), had nearly, but not quite run out. Now it appears from the Second Book of Kings (xxiii. 36; xxiv. 12), that Jehoiakim's third year preceded by a single year the accession of Nebuchadnezzar; and from that time to the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, on which followed Darius the Mede's reign, was a period (according to Berosus and Ptolemy [1]) of sixty-seven years.

[1] See the "Canon" of Ptolemy; and compare Beros. ap. Joseph. *c. Ap.* i. 21.

It would thus be in the sixty-eighth year of the Captivity that Daniel, having "understood by books the number of the years whereof the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah the prophet," sought unto the Lord "with fasting and sackcloth and ashes," and besought Him to "turn away his fury and anger from Jerusalem" (Dan. ix. 16), and "cause his face to shine upon his sanctuary" (Ib. 17), and "do and defer not" (Ib. 19). Such a near approach of the termination of the prophetical period is exactly what the preface to Daniel's prayer (verse 2), and the intensity of the prayer suggest, or (perhaps it may be said) imply

CHAPTER VII.

EZRA, NEHEMIAH, AND ESTHER.

In Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, we have the history of the Jews for the space of a little more than a century after their return from the Captivity, — from about B. C. 538 to 434. The position of the people is entirely new. No longer independent, no longer ruled by their native kings they form an integral portion of the great Persian Empire, the empire founded by Cyrus, and established by his successors over the whole of the vast tract lying between the river Sutlej and the African desert. Judæa is a sort of sub-satrapy of Syria, ruled, indeed, by its own special governor, but more or less under the supervision of the Syrian satrap, or "governor of the tract across the river" (Ezra v. 3). Its civil history, so far as it can be said to have one, consists in the treatment of its people by the several monarchs who occupy the Persian throne, and in the contentions which it carries on with neighboring tribes, who exhibit to-

Character of the history in these books. Points in them which admit of profane illustration.

wards it a marked hostility. There is not much in the narrative that is of a nature to receive illustration from profane sources. The position of the people is too humble, their proceedings are of two little importance, to attract the attention of the historical inquirer, or to be regarded as deserving of record by the historiographer. The points of contact with profane history are almost limited to two, — the succession and character of the Persian kings, and the organization of their court and kingdom.

Succession of the Persian kings correctly given.

The succession of the Persian kings is given in Ezra as follows: Cyrus, Ahasuerus, Artaxerxes, Darius, Artaxerxes [1]; but it is not apparent whether this succession is strictly continuous, or whether there are any omissions in it. Profane authorities tell us that the actual kings in their complete order were, Cyrus, Cambyses, Smerdis, Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes, etc. It is evident, on a comparison of these two lists, that that in Ezra is defective by the omission of Xerxes; but that otherwise it corresponds to the list of profane historians, with the exception that two of the monarchs — the second and the third — are called by other names. That royal personages among the Persians

[1] See Ezra ch. iv. 5, 6, 7, 24; and ch. vii. 1.

had sometimes more names than one appears sufficiently from statements in the Greek historians. The Smerdis of Herodotus is the Tanyoxarces of Ctesias. Darius II. was, before his accession to the throne, called Ochus.[1] The original name of Artaxerxes Mnemon was Arsaces.[2] It would seem that Cambyses must have been known to some of his subjects as Ahasuerus (= Xerxes), and Smerdis as Artaxerxes, though we have no other evidence of the fact than that which Ezra furnishes. With regard to the omission of Xerxes from the list in Ezra, it results from the occurrence (which is very evident) of a gap between the first and the second part of the work, no events being related between the passover in the sixth year of Darius (B. C. 515), and the journey of Ezra from Babylon to Jerusalem, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes (B. C. 458). The omission of Xerxes by Ezra is, happily, compensated for by the narrative of Esther, which belongs wholly to his reign, and which, having its scene laid at Susa, is very much fuller of details with respect to Persian manners than the other books belonging to this period.

The character of Cyrus, and his actions, as

[1] Ctesias, *Excerpt. Persic.* § 49.
[2] Ibid. § 57 ; Plutarch, *Vit. Artaxerx.* § 2.

indicated by Ezra (and by Daniel), are in remarkable agreement with the notices which we possess of him in profane authors. Of all the Persian monarchs, he was the one most distinguished for mildness and clemency;[1] the one to whom the sufferings of a captive nation, torn violently from its home and subjected to seventy years of grievous oppression, would most forcibly have appealed. Again, he was an earnest Zoroastrian,[2] a worshipper of the "Great God, Ormazd," the special, if not the sole object of adoration among the *ancient* Persians; he was a hater of idolatry, and of the shameless rites which accompanied it, and he would naturally sympathize with such a people as the Jews, — a people whose religious views bore so great a resemblance to his own. Thus the restoration of the Jews by Cyrus, though an act almost without a parallel in the history of the world, was only natural under the circumstances; and the narrative of it, which Ezra gives us, is in harmony at once with the other Scriptural notices of the monarch,[3] and with profane accounts of

Character and actions of Cyrus agree with profane accounts of him.

[1] Xenophon calls him ψυχὴν φιλανθρωπότατον, "of a most *humane* disposition" (*Cyrop.* i. 2, § 1). Berosus, Herodotus, and Ctesias all remark upon his clemency.

[2] Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 7, § 3; Nic. Dam. Fr. 66.

[3] The immediate restoration, in his *first* year (Ezra i. 1), and

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him. The edicts which he issued on the occasion (Ezra i. 2–4 and vi. 3–5) are alike suitable to his religious belief and to the generosity of his character. His acknowledgment of one "Lord God of Heaven" (Ezra i. 2); his identification of this God with the Jehovah of the Jews; and his pious confession that he has received all the kingdoms over which he rules from this source, breathe the spirit of the *old* Persian religion,[1] of which Cyrus was a sincere votary; while the delivery of the golden vessels from out of the treasury (i. 7–11; vi. 5); the allowance of the whole expense of rebuilding the Temple out of the royal revenue (vi. 4); and the general directions to all Persian subjects to "help with silver and with gold, and with goods, and with beasts" (i. 4), accord well with the munificence which is said to have been one of his leading characteristics.[2] It may be added

the words, "the Lord God of Heaven has charged me to build Him a house at Jerusalem," are well explained by the circumstances related in Dan. v. and by Isaiah xliv. 28. The fame of the "handwriting upon the wall," and the high dignity to which Daniel had been raised (Dan. v. 29), would necessarily bring him into personal contact with Cyrus upon the capture of the city; and he would then naturally communicate to Cyrus the prophecy of Isaiah.

[1] *Ancient Monarchies*, by Prof. Rawlinson, vol. iii. pp. 347–357.

[2] Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 3, § 7; 4, §§ 11 and 26, etc.

that the political liberality which is apparent in the assignment of so important a government as that of Babylonia to a *Mede*, is also characteristic of this king, who appointed two Medes in succession to govern the rich satrapy of Lydia,[1] and (according to one account[2]) assigned the government of Carmania to a Babylonian.

Discovery of his decree *at Ecbatana* agrees with his habit of residing there.

The discovery of the original decree of Cyrus, early in the reign of Darius Hystaspis, "at Achmetha (or Ecbatana), in the palace that is in the province of the Medes" (vi. 2), is one of those *little* points of agreement between the sacred and the profane which are important because their very minuteness is an indication that they are purely casual and unintentional. When Ezra wrote, the Persian kings resided usually at Susa, or at Babylon, occasionally visiting, in the summer time, Ecbatana or Persepolis. Susa and Babylon, as the ordinary stations of the court, were the places at which the archives were laid up. But *Cyrus seems to have held his court permanently at Ecbatana*,[3] and consequently it was there that he kept his archives, and

[1] Herod. i. 156 and 162.
[2] Abyden. ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 10.
[3] Herod, i. 153; Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* §§ 2–4.

there that his decree was found. Ezra, writing under Artaxerxes, nearly a century later, is not likely to have known the habits of Cyrus; but he relates a fact which is in exact harmony with them.

With regard to Cambyses, the successor of Cyrus, and the usurper who reigned under the name of Smerdis, the book of Ezra tells us but little. All that we learn concerning them is, that both princes were solicited by the enemies of the Jews to hinder the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and that while Cambyses took no action upon the communication made to him, Smerdis, on the contrary, replied by a letter, in which he directly forbade the continuation of the work commenced under Cyrus and continued under his son and successor.[1] This departure from the policy of the two previous kings is rendered intelligible by the peculiar position of the monarch, as declared to us by profane writers,[2] and more fully explained in the great inscription of Darius at Behistun.[3] Smerdis was a Magian, attached to a worship directly antagonistic to the faith of Zoroaster, and bent on reversing the policy of his two

Reversal of the decree of Cyrus by the next king but one, in harmony with his religious position.

[1] See Ezra iv. 6–24.
[2] Herod. iii. 61; Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 10; Justin, i. 9.
[3] Col. i. par. 11–14.

predecessors in matters of religion. The fact that Cyrus and Cambyses sympathized with the Jews in respect of their belief, and allowed the restoration of their Temple and capital, would be sufficient reason to him for prohibiting it. Hence the severe edict which he issued (Ezra iv. 17–22), in which it is worthy of remark that none of that faith in a Supreme God appears which characterizes the decrees of Cyrus.[1]

Relations of Darius with the Jews, and terms of his edict, suitable to his character and circumstances.

Of Darius, the next king to Smerdis, we have an interesting notice in the fifth and sixth chapters of Ezra. It appears that the Jews no sooner felt that this king was safely seated upon the throne, than, regarding the edict of Smerdis as null and void, they resumed the work, from which they had been compelled to desist, and pressed it forward with increased ardor, the two prophets, Zechariah and Haggai, helping them (Ezra v. 2). This bold course is explained by the known Zoroastrian zeal of Darius, who tells us in his great inscription that he commenced his reign by reversing the religious policy of his predecessor, "rebuilding the temples

[1] The Magians worshipped the elements, earth, air, water, and fire. Their creed was Pantheism, which is a form of Atheism.

which the Magian had destroyed, and restoring the religious chants and the worship which he had abolished."[1] The Jews would naturally feel assured that they might count upon his sympathy, and so would resume the work without waiting for express warrant. Their enemies, however, might naturally be unwilling to relinquish the advantage which they had gained, until they had at least made an effort to retain it. Accordingly they addressed a long petition to the new monarch, informing him of the steps taken by the Jews, mentioning the ground on which they justified their conduct, namely, the decree of Cyrus, and suggesting that search should be made *at Babylon*, to see whether the archives contained any such decree or no (Ezra v. 6–17). They may have suspected that Smerdis would have destroyed any such document while he had the archives in his power, and have hoped that it would be impossible to produce it. The decree, however, was found at Ecbatana (vi. 2); and Darius at once put forth an edict, reciting it, and requiring the Syrian satrap and his subordinates to lend the Jews every help, instead of hindering them. The terms of the edict suit in every way the character and circumstances of Darius. He speaks of the Jewish temple

[1] *Behist. Inscr.* col. i. par. 14, § 5 and § 6.

as "the house of God" (verses 7 and 8), and of Jehovah as "the God of Heaven" (verses 9 and 10); he approves, as a Zoroastrian would,[1] of the offering of sacrifices to the Supreme Being (Ib.); he values the prayers which he feels assured the Jews will address to Jehovah on his behalf (verse 10); and he invokes a curse[2] on those who shall injure or destroy the sacred edifice in which such prayers will be offered (verse 12). Further, he implies that he has already "sons" (verse 10), though he has but just ascended the throne, a fact which is confirmed by Herodotus;[3] he speaks of the "tribute" (verse 8), which (according to the same author[4]) he was the first to impose on the provinces; and he threatens the disobedient with that punishment of impaling (verse 11) with which he most commonly punished offenders.[5]

Of Xerxes, the son and successor of Darius, the book of Ezra tells us nothing; but it is now generally allowed by critics[6] that he is

[1] Herod. i. 132; *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii. pp. 349–351.

[2] Compare the curses invoked by this king on those who should injure his inscriptions (*Behist. Inscr.* col. iv. par. 17).

[3] Herod. vii. 2.

[4] Ibid. iii. 89.

[5] *Behist. Inscr.* col. ii. par. 13, § 7; par. 14, § 16; col. iii. par. 8, § 2, etc. Herod. iii. 159.

[6] As De Wette, Bertheau, Gesenius, Hävernick, Dean Milman, Bp. Cotton, etc.

the monarch at whose court is laid the scene of the book of Esther. Assuming this identity (which follows both from the name assigned him,[1] and from the notes of time contained in Esther), we may remark that the character of the monarch, so graphically placed before us by the sacred historian, bears the closest possible resemblance to that which is ascribed by the classical writers to the celebrated son of Darius. "Proud, self-willed, amorous, careless of contravening Persian customs; reckless of human life, yet not actually bloodthirsty; impetuous, facile, changeable, — the Ahasuerus of Esther corresponds in all respects to the Greek portraiture of Xerxes;"[2] which is not (be it observed) the mere picture of an Oriental despot, but has various marked peculiarities that distinctly individualize it. And so with respect to his actions. In the third year of Ahasuerus was held a great feast and assembly in Shushan, the palace (Esth. i. 3). In the third year of Xerxes was held an assembly at Susa, to arrange the Grecian war.[1] In the seventh year of Ahas-

Portrait of Xerxes in the book of Esther in close accordance with profane accounts of him.

[1] The Hebrew *Ahashverosh* is the exact Semitic equivalent of the Persian *Khshayarshá*, which the Greeks rendered by Xerxes.

[2] Prof. Rawlinson's *Bampton Lectures* for 1859, p. 186.

uerus "fair young virgins were sought for nim," and he replaced Vashti by marrying Esther (Ib. ii. 16). In the seventh year of Xerxes, he returned defeated from Greece, and consoled himself for his disasters by the pleasures of the seraglio.[2] The monarch who scourged the sea, and offered human victims in sacrifice,[3] might well outrage Persian feeling by requiring Vashti to present herself unveiled before his courtiers (Ib. i. 10–12). The prince, who gave a sister-in-law, whom he had professed to love, into the power of a favorite wife to torture and mutilate,[4] would naturally not shrink from handing over a tribe for which he had no regard, to the tender mercies of a favorite minister. One so changeable and so much under female influence as Xerxes always showed himself, might readily, under the circumstances related, alter his mind, and resolve to save the race which he had recently given over to destruction. And the same almost superstitious regard for his word, when once it had been passed, which we find recorded of him in Herodotus,[5] would prevent him from simply revoking his edict, and determine him to meet the difficulty in

[1] Herod. vii. 8.
[2] Ibid. vii. 35, 114.
[3] Ibid. ix. 108, 109.
[4] Ibid. ix. 111.
[5] Ibid. ix. 109.

another way. To the king who had lost one or two millions of soldiers in Greece, it might not seem very terrible to allow fighting for one or two days in most of the great cities of the Empire. Finally we can well understand that, after the exhaustion of the treasury by the Greek war, King Ahasuerus would have had to lay an increased tribute upon the land and upon the isles of the sea (Ib. x. 1), Cyprus, Aradus, the island of Tyre, etc.

Of Artaxerxes, the son and successor of Xerxes, we have two Biblical notices, — one in Ezra (vii. 7–26), and the other in Nehemiah (i. and ii.). We learn from the former of these two passages, that, like Cyrus and Darius, he held the identity of Jehovah with his own supreme God, Ormazd (verses 12, 21, 23), and that he approved of the Jewish worship, which he supported by offerings (verse 15), by grants from the state and the provincial treasuries (verses 20–22), and by a threat of severe pains and penalties (verse 26) against its impugners. The passage of Nehemiah throws light upon his personal character, which appears by the picture drawn to have been mild and amiable. The Oriental monarch, who would notice the sad expression on the countenance of an attendant,

Character of Artaxerxes, as drawn by Ezra and Nehemiah, agrees with that given by Plutarch and Diodorus.

make kind inquiry into its cause, and grant readily the request, which, while it inconvenienced himself, would bring back a cheerful look to his servant's face (Neh. ii. 1–8), must have been unlike the ordinary run of despots, and cannot possibly have been devoid of kindness of heart, good-nature, and other estimable qualities. Accordingly, we find that Longimanus is represented in an exceptional light by the Greek writers, one of whom calls him "the first of the Persian monarchs for mildness and magnanimity," [1] while another celebrates the equity and moderation of his government, which was (he says) highly approved by the Persians.[2] Of the religious views of Longimanus we have no direct profane evidence; but there is no reason to doubt that he maintained the Zoroastrian sentiments of his ancestors.

Organization of the Persian Court and kingdom, as depicted, in Ezra, Esther, and Nehemiah.

The organization of the Persian court and kingdom which the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, represent to us comprises the following points. The monarch is despotic, in a certain sense; but he acts with the advice of a council, consisting ordinarily of the "seven princes of Persia and Media,

[1] Plutarch, *Vit. Artax.* § 1.
[2] Diod. Sic. xi. 71, § 2.

which see the king's face and sit the first in the kingdom" (Esth. i. 14; comp. Ezra vii. 14). He is also controlled to some extent by a "law of the Persians and the Medes, which alters not" (Esth. i. 19). His kingdom is divided into a number of districts or provinces — as many as one hundred and twenty-seven are mentioned (Esth. i. 1), — over which are set satraps (Ib. iii. 12; viii. 9), or other governors (Ib.), who "have maintenance from the palace" (Ezra iv. 14), collect and guard the revenue (Ib. vii. 21), which is partly paid in money, and partly in kind (Ib. verse 22), and report to the court if any danger threatens the tract under their charge (Ib. iv. 11–22; v. 3–17). The court communicates with the satraps, or other governors, by means of a system of mounted posts (Esth. iii. 13; viii. 10, 14), which rapidly convey the royal orders to the remotest parts of the empire. The royal orders are authenticated by being signed with the king's signet (Ib. iii. 10, 12, etc.). Record offices are established in different places, and the archives of the empire are deposited in them (Ezra vi. 1, 2). It is usual for the monarch to have a chief, or favorite minister, to whom he delegates, in a great measure, the government of his vast empire (Esth. iii. 1, 10; viii. 8; x. 2,

3). Special notice is taken of any service rendered to the king by a subject; every such service is put on record (Ib. ii. 23; vi. 2); and the principle is laid down that royal benefactors are to receive an adequate reward (Ib. vi. 3). The king resides ordinarily either at Susa (Ib. i. 2; Neh. i. 1), or at Babylon (Ezra vii. 9; xiii. 6). His palace at Susa is a magnificent building, remarkable for its "pillars of marble," its "pavement of red, blue, white, and black," and its "hangings of white, green, and blue, which are fastened with cords of fine linen and purple to the pillars" (Esth. i. 6). The palace is furnished with couches of gold and silver, on which the guests recline when they banquet (Ib.). The drinking vessels are of solid gold (Ib. ver. 7). Wine is served to the king (Neh. ii. 1) and to his guests (Esth. i. 7) by cupbearers. Eunuchs are employed at the court, and fill positions of importance (Ib. i. 10; ii. 3, 21). The king has one chief wife, who partakes in his royal dignity, and numerous concubines (Ib. i. 11; ii. 3–14). Women are secluded; they feast apart from the men (Ib. i. 9), and in the palace occupy the Gynæceum, or "house of the women" (Ib. ii. 9). It is a rare favor for even a single noble to be invited to banquet with the king and the queen (Ib.

v. 12). To intrude on the king's presence without invitation is a capital offense, and is punished with death, unless the king please to condone it (Ib. iv. 11).

Here, again, as in the parallel cases of Egypt and Assyria, the picture drawn is in thorough accord with what we know of the ancient Persians from profane writers and from their own monuments. The Persian despotism is represented by Herodotus as modified by the existence of a council,[1] and by the idea of an unalterable law, which the king might indeed break, but which he could not feel himself justified in breaking.[2] The existence of "seven princes" at the head of the nobility is indicated by the conspiracy of the seven chiefs who organized the revolt against Smerdis,[3] as well as by the special privileges which attached to six great families besides that of the monarch.[4] The division of the empire into numerous satrapies and sub-satrapies is generally attested by the Greek writers, and appears also in the inscriptions, and though so large a number of provinces as one hundred and twenty-seven is not

Agreement of the picture with profane accounts and with the Persian monuments.

[1] Herod. vii. 8.
[2] Ibid. iii. 31 ; ix. 111. Compare Plut. *Vit. Artax.* § 27.
[3] Ibid. iii. 70–79. Compare *Behist. Inscr.* col. iv. par. 18.
[4] Herod. iii. 84.

mentioned elsewhere than in Esther, yet we may trace through history a gradual increase in their number,[1] and we can readily understand that the vain-glorious Xerxes may have swelled the list by way of ostentation. The duty of the satraps to guard the tranquillity of the provinces, to collect the tribute, and to store it in provincial treasuries until the time came for transmitting it to the court, is apparent from the accounts which the best authors give of the satrapial office.[2] Besides the money tribute demanded from each province, it is a well-known fact that a considerable payment had to be made in kind.[3] The Persian system of mounted posts was peculiar to them amongst the ancient peoples, and is described at length both by Xenophon and by Herodotus.[4] Its special object was the conveyance of the royal commands to the provincial governors.[5] A royal order, or *firman*, was al-

[1] Darius is said by Herodotus to have instituted originally twenty satrapies. But in the Behistun Inscription (col. i. par. 6) this monarch reckons the provinces as 21 ; in an inscription at Persepolis he enumerates 23 : and in that upon his tomb at Nakhsh-i-Rustam, he mentions 29. Herodotus makes the nations composing the armament of Xerxes exceed 60.

[2] See Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 6, § 1–6, and Herod. iii. 89.

[3] Herod. i. 192 ; iii. 91, etc.

[4] Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 6, § 17, 18 ; Herod. viii. 98. On the employment of camels, no less than horses, in the postal service (Esth. viii. 10), see Strabo, xv. 2, § 10.

[5] Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 6, § 18 ; Herod. iii. 126.

ways authenticated by being signed with the royal signet.[1] The composition and preservation of state archives is attested by Ctesias,[2] who declared that he drew his Persian history from "royal parchments," to which he had access during his stay at the court of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Favorite ministers, to whom they delegate the greater part of their duties, are found to have been employed by most of the Persian monarchs after the time of Darius.[3] The recognition of a distinct class of "Royal Benefactors" appears to have been a special Persian institution. The names of such persons were entered upon a formal list; and it was regarded as the bounden duty of the monarch to see that they were adequately rewarded.[4]

So, too, with respect to the court. That Susa was its ordinary seat is apparent from Herodotus, Ctesias, and the Greek writers generally, while that it was fixed during a part of the year at Babylon, is declared by Xenophon, Plutarch, and others.[5] The mag-

[1] Herod. iii. 128.

[2] Ap. Diod. Sic. ii. 32.

[3] Herod. vii. 5; Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 20, 29, 49; Diod. Sic. xvi. 50, etc.

[4] Herod. iii. 140; viii. 85, 90; Thucyd. 129.

[5] Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 6, § 22; Plut. *de Exil.* p. 604; Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* §§ 12, 28, etc.

nificence of the Susian palace is evidenced, not merely by the accounts of ancient authors, but by the existing remains, which exhibit four groups of "marble pillars" exquisitely carved, springing from a pavement composed chiefly of *blue* limestone, and constructed (in the opinion of the excavators) with a view to the employment of curtains or hangings between the columns, an arrangement thoroughly suitable to the site and climate.[1] Greek writers describe at length the splendor of the palace furniture, whereon the precious metals were prodigally lavished;[2] the number and variety of the officers, principally eunuchs;[3] the richness and grandeur of the banquets;[4] the seclusion of the women;[5] and the like. They confirm the representations made of the vast size of the seraglio,[6] and the superior dignity of one queen consort.[7] They tell us that the several wives approached the monarch "in their turn."[8] And they clearly intimate

[1] See Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, pp. 365–375.

[2] Athen. *Deipnos.* iv. p. 145, A; xii. p. 514, C; Æsch. *Pers.* l. 161; Philostrat. *Imag.* ii. 32.

[3] Xen. *Hell.* vii. 1, § 38; *Cyrop.* viii. 8, § 20

[4] Athen. *Deipn.* iv. pp. 145, 146.

[5] Herod. iii. 58; Plut. *Vit. Artax.* § 27; Diod. Sic. xi. 56, § 7.

[6] Plut. *Vit. Artax.* § 27; Q. Curt. iii. 3.

[7] See *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii. p. 216.

[8] Herod. iii. 69. Compare Esth. ii. 12, 15.

that intrusion on the king's privacy was an offense punishable with death.[1]

Remarkable as is this agreement of the books under consideration with profane history, and especially with the accounts which have come down to us of Persian habits, ideas, and practices, there have not been wanting persons to charge, at any rate, one of them — the book of Esther — with historical inaccuracy, and even with "containing a number of errors in regard to Persian customs."[2] It would seem, therefore, to be necessary, before bringing this chapter to a conclusion, that a few words should be said in reply to these charges.

Charges brought against the book of Esther.

The historical inaccuracies alleged to be contained in Esther are the following: (1.) Amestris, it is said (who cannot be Esther, since she was the daughter of a Persian noble, Otanes), was the real Queen Consort of Xerxes, from the beginning of his reign to the end; and, therefore, the whole story of Esther being made queen, and of her great power and influence, is impossible. (2.) Mordecai, Esther's first cousin, having been carried into captivity with Jeconiah (Esth. ii. 6), in B. C. 588, must have been

1. Alleged historical inaccuracies.

[1] Herod. iii. 72, 77, 84, etc.

[2] De Wette, *Einleitung*, § 198 a.

at least 129 years old in B. C. 474, Xerxes' twelfth year, and Esther must, consequently, have been then too old to have influence through her beauty. (3.) Artabanus, the captain of the guard, was Grand Vizier, and ruled Xerxes at the time when Haman and Mordecai are given that position. Let us examine these "inaccuracies" in their order.

These "inaccuracies" examined.

(1.) Amestris was undoubtedly, during the greater part of his reign, the chief wife of Xerxes. He married her in the life-time of his father, and she outlived him, and held the rank of Queen Mother under his son and successor, Artaxerxes. She cannot be the Esther of Scripture; but there is nothing to prevent her from being Vashti, whose disgrace may have been only temporary. Or possibly Vashti and Esther may both have been "secondary wives," though the title of Queen is given to them.[1] A young "secondary wife" might obtain a temporary influence over the monarch beyond that of the Queen Consort, though the power of the latter, not resting merely upon royal fancy, would outlast that of any such rival. We know far too little of the domestic life of Xerxes from profane sources to have any right

[1] See the articles on ESTHER and VASHTI in Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*.

to pronounce the position which Esther is made to occupy in his harem from his seventh to his twelfth year "impossible," or even improbable.

(2.) It is not clear that Mordecai is said in Esther to have been carried into captivity with Jeconiah. The passage referred to (Esth. ii. 5, 6) is ambiguous. It may be, and probably is Kish, Mordecai's great grandfather, of whom the assertion is made in verse 6, that he "had been carried away from Jerusalem with the captivity which had been carried away with Jeconiah, whom Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, had carried away." This construction of the passage, which the Hebrew idiom fully allows, would accord completely with the date of Xerxes.[1]

(3.) There is no evidence at what time in Xerxes' reign he fell under the influence of Artabanus, the captain of the guard. We only know that this chief ruled him towards the close of his reign.[2] It is therefore quite possible that between the death of Mardonius, B. C. 479, and the rise of Artabanus to power, first Haman and then Mordecai may have held

[1] * The verb in this case belongs to the nearer subject instead of a remoter one. This consistency with the chronology as thus indicated by other data is of itself a reason for reckoning here from Kish and not from Mordecai. — H.

[2] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 29.

the position assigned them in Esther. Indeed, there are some grounds for identifying Mordecai with a person who is expressly said to have been very influential with Xerxes, namely, Natacas, or Matacas, the eunuch. For the name, Matacas, would probably be rendered in Chaldee by Mordecai;[1] and there is sufficient reason for believing that Mordecai belonged to the class of persons to whom Ctesias assigns Matacas.[2]

Of the alleged "errors in regard to Persian customs," the following are the principal. (1.) A Persian king, it is said, would never have invited his Queen to a carousal. (2.) He could not legally, and therefore it is supposed he could not possibly marry a wife not belonging to one of the seven great Persian families. (3.) Such honors as are said to have been conferred on Mordecai (Esth. vi. 8–11), being in their nature royal, would never have been allowed by a Persian king to a subject. (4.) No Persian king would have issued two such murderous decrees as are ascribed to Ahasuerus, or have allowed a subject race to massacre 75,000 Persians.

(2.) Alleged errors in regard to Persian customs.

In reply, we may observe (1) that the Per-

[1] See Bp. A. Hervey's article on MORDECAI in Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*, vol. ii. p. 420, and vol. iii. p. 2010, Amer. ed.

[2] *Exc. Pers.* § 20 and § 27.

sian abhorrence of such an act as exhibiting the Queen unveiled to a set of revelers is implied in the refusal of Vashti (Esth. i. 11); and that the question of the possibility or impossibility of the thing occurring is merely a question of the lengths to which a Persian monarch would go in outraging propriety and violating established usage. Now when Cambyses shot the son of one of his nobles, merely to prove the steadiness of his hand,[1] and when Xerxes called on his brother Masistes to divorce his wife without even a pretext,[2] they shocked their subjects and outraged propriety as much as Ahasuerus did when he sent his order to Vashti. There were, in fact, no limits which a Persian monarch might not, and did not, when he chose, overstep, nor any customs which he held absolutely sacred. And the character of Xerxes would make such an outrage as that related more probable under him than under other kings. Hence even De Wette allows that "the invitation to Vashti is possible on account of the advancing corruption in Xerxes' time and through the folly of Xerxes himself."[3] (2.) The marriage

These "errors" examined.

[1] Herod. iii. 35. [2] Ibid. ix. 111.

[3] *Einleitung in das A. Test.* p. 267; [and De Wette-Schrader, p. 398 (1869). This later edition contains all of De Wette with additions by Schrader, supplementary or corrective.]

of Ahasuerus with a Jewess, even if we regard it as a marriage in the fullest sense, would not be more illegal or more abhorrent to Persian notions than Cambyses' marriage with his full sister.[1] It is therefore just as likely to have taken place. If, on the other hand, it was a marriage of the secondary kind, the law with respect to the king's wives being taken from the seven great families would not apply to it. (3.) The honors granted to Mordecai were certainly very unusual in Persia. They consisted in three[2] things, all of which were capital offenses, if done without the royal permission. But we find Persian kings allowing their subjects in these or parallel acts occasionally, either for a special purpose, or even out of mere good-nature. Xerxes, on one occasion made his uncle, Artabanus, put on his dress, sit for a time on his throne, and then go to sleep in his bed.[3] And Artaxerxes Mnemon permitted Tiribazus to wear, as often as he liked, a robe which had been his, and which he had given to him.[4] There is nothing really contrary to Oriental notions in the allowance to a subject even of royal

[1] Herod. iii. 31.

[2] Wearing the royal apparel, riding on the king's horse, and having the crown royal set upon his head (see Esther vi. 8).

[3] Herod. vii. 17.

[4] Plutarch, *Vit. Artax.* § 5.

honors *for a time* and under certain circumstances. (4.) The murderous decrees ascribed to Ahasuerus have nothing incredible in them to one who is familiar with Oriental, or even with Persian history. Human life is of little account in the East. When Cambyses, on his return to Egypt, from an unsuccessful expedition into Ethiopia, found the Egyptians celebrating an incarnation of Apis, he gave orders that every one who was seen keeping the festival should be put to death.[1] When the seven conspirators had slain the Pseudo-Smerdis, they proceeded with their friends to massacre every Magus whom they could lay their hands on.[2] In memory of the event, a feast, called Magophonia, was kept every year, during which every Magus who showed himself, might be killed by any one.[3] The massacres of the Mamelukes and the Janissaries are familiar to all. As for the objection that a Persian king would never have allowed the massacre of "75,000 *Persians*," it is based on a misconception. The 75,000 were certainly not all of them (Esth. ix. 16), and perhaps not any of them Persians. They were the Jews' enemies, those who set upon them, *in the provinces*. Now there was no natural antagonism

[1] Herod. iii. 29. [2] Ibid. iii. 79.
[3] Ibid. Compare Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 15.

between the Persians and the Jews, while there was a very strong antagonism between the Jews and such of the subject nations as were idolaters. Moreover, the Persians in the provinces consisted almost entirely of persons in the service of the crown, military or civil, who would have orders from the court, at any rate, not to take part against the Jews. Thus the persons slain would belong, like the Jews themselves, to the subject races, whose lives such a monarch as Xerxes held exceedingly cheap.

[* It is a peculiarity of this book of Esther that the name of Jehovah or God is not once mentioned in it. This omission is the less surprising, because it occurs in a history so full of interpositions that reveal the actual presence of Him who presides over the destiny of men and of nations, and also the power of that faith in the unseen One, which made the actors in this great national drama so hopeful and enduring. Professor Stuart says very truly: "The fact that the feast of Purim[1] has come down to us from time almost immemorial, ... proves as certainly that the

[1]* The feast of Purim, (which means *lots*) was so called ironically by the Jews, with reference to Haman's frustrated conspiracy against them (Esther iv. 24; and 2 Macc. xv. 36). It was an annual festival of two days, the 14th and 15th of the month Adar; *i. e.* about the middle of March. — H.

main events in the book of Esther happened, as the Declaration of Independence and the celebration of the Fourth of July prove that we separated from Great Britain and became an independent nation. The book of Esther is an essential document to explain the feast of Purim." The self-asserting character of truthfulness which the narrative assumes, as illustrated in Dean Milman's sketch of the events, speaks strongly in its favor.]

Conclusion.

It would seem, then, that there is really no ground for the assertion that the writer of Esther has fallen into errors with regard to Persian customs. The book of Esther, no less than the books of Nehemiah and Ezra, exhibits a profound acquaintance with Oriental, and especially with Persian notions and modes of thought. Its author was undoubtedly a Jew who lived at the court of Susa, under the Persian kings, and its facts are worthy of our full acceptance.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCLUSION.

THE historical books of the Old Testament have now been passed in review before the reader, and their matter has been, where it was possible, compared with such profane records of the past as are generally considered by critics to be most authentic, — with the monuments and hieroglyphics of Egypt, the cuneiform inscriptions of Babylonia, Assyria, and Persia, the single extant record of Moab, and the writings of the best ancient historians, such as Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Ctesias, Manetho, Berosus, Abydenus, Menander of Ephesus, Nicolas of Damascus, and others. The result seems to be, in the first place, that contradiction between the sacred and the profane scarcely occurs, unless it be in chronological statements, and that it is even there confined within narrow limits. In a few places, and a few places only, the Scriptural record of time, as contained in the extant Hebrew text, differs from that of Assyrian

Results of the inquiry.

1. Very little contradiction between the sacred and the profane.

monuments or Egyptian historians.[1] The difference is in general one of no more than a few years; and in no case after the time of Solomon (before which the sacred chronology is vague, while profane chronology is uncertain) does it amount to so much as half a century. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that such discrepancies as occur in this matter are accidental, arising either from different modes of computing time, from the corruption of a reading, from the carelessness of an engraver, or from some similar circumstance. In the general outline of human affairs, in the account given of the rise and flourishing periods of kingdoms, of their succession one after another, of their duration, their character, their conquests, and the order of their sovereigns, the sacred narrative shows a remarkable agreement with the best profane sources, only in a very few places bringing before us personages in a position of apparent importance, whom we cannot distinctly identify with known characters in profane history. The cases of this kind which still remain as difficulties are two only, those of Pul and Darius the Mede.[2] All the other Oriental monarchs mentioned by name in the

2. Large amount of minute agreement.

[1] See above, pp. 154, 155.

[2] See pp. 131–134, and 183–186.

course of the narrative are, if we possess the profane history of the period in any detail, capable of being recognized in it.[1] The characters of the kings, as drawn in Scripture and by profane writers, agree. Their actions are either such as profane historians record, or such as are natural to persons in their position. Above all, there is a minute agreement between the Scriptural account of the habits, customs, and ideas of the several nations, which the course of the narrative brings before us, and the description of them which is obtainable from their own monuments and from the best ancient writers. In four instances — those of Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia, — our knowledge of the condition of the people at the time indicated being exact, and copious, if not complete, the comparison may be made *in extenso;* and it is especially in these four instances that the harmony between the sacred and the profane is most striking.[2]

Conclusions to be drawn from these results.

What, then, is the force of the whole agreement? What are we justified in deducing from it? In the first place it justifies us in setting aside as wholly inadmissible the theory which not long ago

[1] Page 153.

[2] Pp. 41–48, 70–81, 156–165, 170–173, and 207–211.

was so popular in Germany, that the so-called historical narratives of the Old Testament are legends or myths — tales, *i. e.* invented by moral teachers as a convenient vehicle whereby to instil into men's minds moral truths. It is clear that the narratives are, in the strictest sense of the word, histories, that the writers intend to record, and do at any rate in the main record, facts; that the personages of whom they speak are real personages, the events which they describe real events, which actually happened at the times to which they assigned them. The only question that can be raised is: Do they describe the events *as they happened*, or do they allow themselves to embellish them? In other words, are the miraculous portions of the narrative to be accepted, or may we safely set them aside; as we do the prodigies, when we read the most authentic portions of Herodotus or Livy? It is often said, that whatever historical confirmation of the general narrative of Scripture has been discovered recently, there is no such confirmation of the miracles. And this is no doubt true. The Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Moabite, and Persian historiographers have not placed on record the miracles which were wrought by, and for, or at any rate in close connection with, the Jews. It was not

to be expected that they would do so, since they never seek to glorify any nation but their own. The miracles must stand on their own basis, — on the evidence, *i. e.* of the writers who record them, and their trustworthiness as witnesses to facts. They cannot be cut out of the narrative, because they are integral portions of it, often constituting its turning-point, and being the very thing that the writer is bent on recording, so that without the miracles his narrative would be pointless and meaningless. What we have to ask ourselves is, Which is more likely, that writers, bent on relating a set of false miracles, should be careful to make their narrative conform, in all its *minutiæ*, to historic accuracy, an accuracy extending to numerous points on which they could not expect their readers to have any knowledge, or that the miracles which they record were actually performed, and are related by them with the same truthfulness which is found to characterize the rest of their history? Unless we start with a foregone conclusion that miracles are impossible, we can scarcely fail to embrace the latter hypothesis rather than the former.

Briefly, the historic accuracy of the sacred writers in those parts of their narrative which we can test, goes far to authenticate their whole narrative. The miraculous facts being

inextricably intertwined with the facts which are natural and ordinary, it is necessary either to accept or reject both together. But the laws of historical criticism do not allow us to reject the ordinary facts, since they satisfy all the tests by which real is known from pretended history. We are bound, therefore, to accept the extraordinary.

Again, a conclusion which forces itself on us irresistibly when we compare the sacred books with the best profane sources, is that the Scripture narrative must have been written, in the main, by eye-witnesses of the events recorded: the Pentateuch probably by Moses; Joshua by one of the "elders" who outlived him; Samuel by Samuel; Kings and Chronicles by the prophets contemporary with the several monarchs; Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah by the persons whose names they bear; Esther by one who lived under Xerxes. But if so, the writers could not possibly be ignorant of the truth. And no one now imagines that they intended to deceive. Strauss says, "It would most unquestionably be an argument of *decisive* weight in favor of the credibility of the Biblical history, could it indeed be shown that it was written by eye-witnesses."[1] This is exactly what the minute accuracy of the sacred writers, and their close agreement with

[1] *Leben Jesu*, § 13.

contemporary records and the best profane historians, shows almost to a certainty. The credibility of the Biblical history would thus seem to be, even according to Rationalism itself, established.[1]

[1] * Nor can it be irrelevant to add here, that this line of argument so applicable to the Old Testament, may be applied with still greater force to the writings of the New Testament; for the points of contact between these and contemporary history are still more numerous and diversified, and admit of a more ready verification. Take, for example, the book of the Acts of the Apostles. The history which we read in the Acts connects itself at numerous points with the social customs of different and distant nations; with the fluctuating civil affairs of the Jews, Greeks, and Romans; and with geographical or political divisions and arrangements, which were constantly undergoing some change or modification. Through all these circumstances, which underlie Luke's narrative from commencement to end, the author pursues his way without a single instance of contradiction or collision. Examples of the most unstudied harmony with the complicated relations of the times present themselves at every step. No writer who was conscious of fabricating his story would have hazarded such a number of minute allusions, since they increase so immensely the risk of detection; and still less, if he had ventured upon it, could he have introduced them so skillfully as to baffle every attempt to discover a single well-founded instance of ignorance or oversight. It adds to the force of the argument to remark, that in the pages of Luke every such allusion falls from him entirely without effort or parade. It never strikes the reader as far-fetched or contrived. Every incident flows naturally out of the progress of the narrative. It is no exaggeration to say, that the well-informed reader, who will study carefully the book of the Acts, and compare the incidental notices to be found there with the geography and the political history of the times, and with the customs of the different countries in which the scene of the transactions is laid, will receive an impression of the writer's fidelity and accuracy, equal to that of the most forcible treatises on the truth of Christianity. — H.

APPENDIX.[1]

I.

ASSYRIAN STORY OF THE FLOOD.

Some fifteen years ago, in excavating the site of the old palace of Nineveh, the debris of the royal library was found there. History in that age was written on clay tablets, and some of those found here were twenty-five hundred years old. They were brought to England and deposited in the British Museum. Among those who have studied these inscriptions is Mr. George Smith, connected with the Museum, whom Sir Henry Rawlinson pronounces the greatest Assyrian scholar now living.

Among these tablets, Mr. Smith found some relating to the flood, of which three different copies exist containing duplicate texts, and belonging to the time of Assurbanipal, about 660 B. C. The original text, as appears from the tablets, must have belonged to the city of Erech, and have been translated into the Semitic Babylonian at a very early period. Some of the evidences of its antiquity are, first, the three Assyrian copies contain various readings which had crept into the text since the first document was written; secondly, the Assyrian copyist did not know the exact literal representative of the older original character; and, thirdly, some sentences originally glosses have crept into the text of the later copy. The original composition is decided to be as old at least as the nineteenth century before the Christian era.[2]

The principal personage in these legends is Izdubar (the name is anagrammatic rather than personal),[3] a king who lived

[1] This Appendix has been added by the American editor.

[2] This discovery is pronounced "one of the most important and valuable ever made in the province of archæology" (*The Academy*, London, April 15, 1873).

[3] Conjectured by Sir H. Rawlinson to mean "source of fire."

near the time of a great deluge and belonged to Erech, now Warka, one of the most ancient cities of the world. The other cities mentioned are Babel, Surippak, and Nipur. Two of these, Babel and Erech, are the first two capitals of Nimrod; and Nipur, according to the Talmud, is the same as Calneh (Gen. x. 10), another of Nimrod's cities.

Izdubar, having conquered Belesus, a great king, and put on his rival's crown, and having married Ishtar, a princess of great beauty, became ill and began to fear death, man's great enemy. To escape such a fate he wandered forth in search of a patriarch named Sisit, whom the Babylonians supposed to have become immortal without having died. Izdubar hoped to learn from him the secret of this escape from the common lot of mortals. In the course of these wanderings he met a seaman named Urhamsi, and fitting out a vessel the two sailed along for a month and fifteen days till they arrived at a place near the mouth of the Euphrates where Sisit was supposed to dwell. They make known their request to him, but must converse across a stream which divided the immortal and the mortal from each other.

The first ten tablets, which are very mutilated, contain almost nothing relating to this subject. The eleventh tablet, which is much more complete, begins with a speech of Izdubar, who inquires of Sisit how he became immortal. Sisit, in answer to this question, proceeds to relate the

STORY OF THE FLOOD.

1.[1] Izdubar after this manner said to Sisit afar off 2. Sisit. 3. The account do thou tell to me 4. The account do thou tell to me 5. to the midst to make war 6. I come up after thee 7. say how thou hast done it and in the circle of the gods life thou hast gained. 8. Sisit after this manner said to Izdubar, 9. I will reveal to thee, Izdubar, the concealed story, 10. and the wisdom of the gods I will relate to thee. 11. The city Surippak the city which thou hast established . . . . placed 12. was ancient, and the gods within it 13. dwelt, a tempest . . . . their god, the great gods 14. Anu 15. Bel 16. Ninip 17. lord of Hades 18. their will revealed in the midst of 19. hearing and he spoke to me thus 20. Surrippakite son of Ubaratutu 21. make a great

[1] The figures mark the successive lines and show whether they are more or less complete.

ship for thee 22. I will destroy the sinners and life 23. cause to go in the seed of life all of it to preserve them 24. the ship which thou shalt make 25. cubits shall be the measure of its length and 26. cubits the amount of its breadth and its height 27. Into the deep launch it. 28. I perceived and said to Hea my lord, 29. "Hea my lord this that thou commandest me 30. I will perform, it shall be done. 31. army and host 32. Hea opened his mouth and spake, and said to me his servant 33. thou shalt say unto them 34. he has turned from me and 35. fixed

[Here there are about fifteen lines entirely lost. The absent passage probably described part of the building of the ark.]

DESCRIPTION OF THE ARK.

51. it 52. which in 53. strong . . . . I brought 54. on the fifth day . . . . it 55. in its circuit fourteen measures . . . . its sides 56. fourteen measures it measured . . . . over it 57. I placed its roof on it . . . . I inclosed it 58. I rode in it, for the sixth time I . . . . for the seventh time 59. into the restless deep . . . . for the . . . . time 60. its planks the waters within it admitted 61. I saw breaks and holes . . . . my hand placed 62. three measures of bitumen I poured over the outside 63. three measures of bitumen I poured over the inside 64. three measures the men carrying its baskets took . . . . they fixed an altar 65. I inclosed the altar . . . . the altar for an offering 66. two measures the altar . . . . Paziru the pilot 67. for . . . . slaughtered oxen 68. of . . . . in that day also 69. altar and grapes 70. like the waters of a river and 71. like the day I covered and 72. when . . . . covering my hand placed 73. and Shamas . . . . the material of the ship completed. 74. strong and 75. reeds I spread above and below. 76. went in two thirds of it. 77. All I possessed I collected it, all I possessed I collected of silver. 78. all I possessed I collected of gold. 79. all I possessed I collected of the seed of life, the whole 80. I caused to go up into the ship, all my male and female servants. 81. the beasts of the field, the animals of the field, and the sons of the army all of them, I caused to go up.

THE EARTH SWEPT BY STORM AND FLOOD.

82. A flood Shamas made, and 83. he spake saying in the night, "I will cause it to rain from heaven heavily; 84. enter to the midst of the ship, and shut thy door." 85. A flood he

raised, and 86. he spake saying in the night, "I will cause it to rain from heaven heavily." 87. In the day that I celebrated his festival 88. the day which he had appointed; fear I had, 89. I entered to the midst of the ship, and shut my door 90. to guide the ship, to Buzursadirabl the pilot, 91. the palace I gave to his hand. 92. The raging of a storm in the morning 93. arose, from the horizon of heaven extending and wide 94. Vul in the midst of it thundered, and 95. Nebo and Saru went in front; 96. the throne bearers went over mountains and plains; 97. the destroyer Nergal overturned; 98. Ninip went in front, and cast down; 99. the spirits carried destruction; 100. in their glory they swept the earth; 101. of Vul the flood, reached to heaven; 102. the bright earth to a waste was turned; 103. the surface of the earth, like . . . . it swept; 104. it destroyed all life, from the face of the earth. 105. the strong tempest over the people, reached to heaven. 106. Brother saw not his brother, it did not spare the people. In heaven 107. The gods feared the tempest, and 108. sought refuge; they ascended to the heaven of Anu; 109. The gods like dogs with tails hidden, couched down. 110. Spake Ishtar a discourse 111. uttered the great goddess her speech 112. "The world to sin has turned, and 113. then I in the presence of the gods prophesied evil; 114. when I prophesied in the presence of the gods evil, 115. to evil were devoted all my people, and I prophesied 116. thus, 'I have begotten man and let him not 117. like the sons of the fishes fill the sea.'" 118. The gods concerning the spirits, were weeping with her; 119. the gods in seats, seated in lamentation; 120. covered were their lips for the coming evil.

THE STORM CALMED.

121. Six days and nights 122. passed, the wind tempest and storm overwhelmed, 123. on the seventh day in its course, was calmed the storm and all the tempest 124. which had destroyed like an earthquake, 125. quieted. The sea he caused to dry, and the wind and tempest ended. 126. I was carried through the sea. The doer of evil, 127. and the whole of mankind who turned to sin, 128. like reeds their corpses floated. 129. I opened the window and the light broke in, over my refuge 130. it passed, I sat still and 131. over my refuge came peace. 132. I was carried over the shore, at the boundary of the sea, 133. for twelve measures it ascended over the land. 134. To the

country of Nizir, went the ship; 135. the mountains of Nizir stopped the ship, and to pass over it, it was not able. 136. The first day and the second day, the mountain of Nizir the same. 137. The third day and the fourth day, the mountain of Nizir the same. 138. The fifth and sixth, the mountain of Nizir the same.

A DOVE FROM THE ARK.

139. On the seventh day in the course of it 140. I sent forth a dove and it left. The dove went and searched, and 141. a resting place it did not find, and it returned. 142. I sent forth a swallow and it left. The swallow went and searched, and 143 a resting place it did not find, and it returned. 144. I sent forth a raven, and it left. 145. The raven went, and the corpses on the waters it saw, and 146. it did eat, it swam, and wandered away, and did not return. 147. I sent the animals forth to the four winds. I poured out a libation. 148. I built an altar on the peak of the mountain, 149. by seven herbs I cut, 150. at the bottom of them, I placed reeds, pines, and simgar. 151. The gods collected at its burning, the gods collected at its good burning, 152. the gods like sumbe over the sacrifice gathered. 153. From of old also, the great God in his course, 154. the great brightness of Anu had created; when the glory 155. of these gods, as of Ukni stone, on my countenance I could not endure; 156. in those days I prayed that forever I might not endure.

THE GOD OF THE TEMPEST.

157. May the gods come to my altar; 158. may Bel not come to my altar 159. for he did not consider and had made a tempest, 160. and my people he had consigned to the deep 161. from of old, also Bel in his course 162. saw the ship, and went Bel with anger filled to the gods and spirits; 163. let not any one come out alive, let not a man be saved from the deep. 164. Ninip his mouth opened and spake, and said to the warrior Bel, 165. "Who then will be saved?" Hea the words understood, 166. and Hea knew all things, 167. Hea his mouth opened and spake, and said to the warrior Bel, 168. "Thou prince of the gods, warrior, 169. when thou wast angry a tempest thou madest, 170. the doer of sin did his sin, the doer of evil did his evil, 171. may the exalted not be broken, may the captive not be delivered; 172. instead of thee making a tempest, may lions increase and men be reduced; 173. instead of thee making a

tempest, may leopards increase and men be reduced; 174. instead of thee making a tempest, may a famine happen, and the country be destroyed; 175. instead of thee making a tempest, may pestilence increase, and men be destroyed." 176. I did not peer into the wisdom of the gods, 177. reverent and attentive a dream they sent, and the wisdom of the gods he heard.

THE COUNTRY PURIFIED.

178. When his judgment was accomplished, Bel went up to the midst of the ship, 179. he took my hand and brought me out, me 180. he brought out, he caused to bring my wife to my side, 181. he purified the country, he established in a covenant, and took the people 182. in the presence of Sisit and the people; 183. when Sisit and his wife and the people to be like the gods were carried away, 184. then dwelt Sisit in a remote place at the mouth of the river; 185. they took me and in a remote place at the mouth of the rivers they seated me, 186. when to thee whom the gods have chosen, thee and 187. the life which thou hast sought, after thou shalt gain 188. this do for six days and seven nights 189. like I say also, in bonds bind him 190. the way like a storm shall be laid upon him. 191. Sisit after this manner said to his wife 192. I announce that the chief who grasps at life 193. the way like a storm shall be laid upon him; 194. his wife after this manner, said to Sisit afar off 195. purify him and let the man be sent away 196. the road that he came, may he return in peace, 197. the great gate open, and may he return to his country. 198. Sisit after this manner, said to his wife, 199. the cry of a man alarms thee, 200. this do, his scarlet cloth place on his head, 201. and the day when he ascended the side of the ship 202. she did, his scarlet cloth she placed on his head, 203. and the day when he ascended on the side of the ship.

The lines that follow next are very obscure. The close of the Tablet reads as follows: —

242. Izdubar and Urhamsi rode in the boat 243. where they placed them they rode. 244. His wife after this manner said to Sisit afar off 245. Izdubar goes away, is satisfied, performs 246. that which thou hast given him and returns to his country 247. and he heard and after Izdubar, 248. he went to the shore 249. Sisit after this manner said to Izdubar 250. Izdubar thou goest away, thou art satisfied, thou performest 251. that which I have

given thee and thou returnest to thy country 252. I have revealed to thee Izdubar the concealed story.

The original or cuneiform names are mostly written in monogram, and therefore difficult to represent in English. The cuneiform account, says Mr. Smith, like the Biblical account, describes the deluge as a punishment on men for their sins. The Greek account of Berosus says nothing of that occasion of the flood. The dimensions of the ark are unfortunately lost by a fracture which makes the figures illegible. In both cases (see Gen. vi. 19 ff.) animals are taken into the ark for the perpetuation of the species. The duration of the flood is shorter in the legend than in the Bible account (Gen. vii. 11, ff.); for the inscription states that the flood abated on the seventh day, and that the ship remained seven days on the mount before sending out the birds. The accounts differ as to the mount on which the ark rested; but agree as to the building of the altar and the sacrifice on leaving the ark. Our interpreter suggests that the Babylonian account may combine two distinct and older traditions; and further that the Mosaic account appears to be that of an inland people while the Babylonian account appears to be that of a maritime people.[1]

II.

THE MOABITE STONE.

Its Discovery.

This monument which has awakened so much interest among scholars and in the public mind generally, was discovered in 1868 by Rev. F. Klein of the Church Missionary Society in Jerusalem. It was found at *Dhiban*, the Biblical Dibon (Num. xxi. 30; Is. xv. 2, etc.), on the east of the Jordan in the ancient territory of the Moabites. It is a region remote from the ordinary route of travellers, and but little known to foreigners. The stone was lying on the ground with the inscription uppermost, measuring about three feet nine inches long, two feet four

[1] Maturer study may modify some of the readings or conclusions from them, but are not likely to vary very much the results

inches in breadth, and one foot two inches thick. Through the efforts mainly of Captain Warren, and of the French vice-consul at Jerusalem, M. Ganneau, an impression (or *squeeze* so called) was taken of the main block and of certain recovered parts which had been broken off by the Arabs.

Mr. Deutsch of the British Museum, decides that the characters of this stone are older than many of the Assyrian bi-lingual cylinders which are as old at least as the ninth century B. C. No word occurs in the language of this inscription of which the root does not exist in the Hebrew Bible. It reads in this respect M. de Vogüé remarks, like a page from the Hebrew Scriptures. The form of the letters is the oldest known to any written language. The Pentateuch was no doubt written in such letters in the time of Moses, and Solomon and Hiram corresponded with each other in such characters. (See Jos. *Ant.* xii. 9, § 1.)

Among the various translations of this document (we have them from Ganneau and Derenbourg in French; Noeldeke, Haug, and Schlottmann in German, and Neubauer, Ginsburg, and others in English), that of Dr. Ginsburg is the best for English readers. We insert it here with figures showing the order of the lines as arranged on the stone, some of them being incomplete or illegible.[1]

TRANSLATION.

1. I Mesha am son of Chemoshgad King of Moab, the 2. Dibonite. My father reigned over Moab thirty years, and I reigned 3. after my father. And I erected this Stone to Chemosh at Karcha [a stone of] 4. [Sa]lvation, for he saved me from all despoilers and let me see my desire upon all my enemies. 5. and Om[r]i, King of Israel, who oppressed Moab many days, for Chemosh was angry with his 6. [la]nd. His son succeeded him, and he also said, I will oppress Moab. In my days he said, [let us go] 7. and I will see my desire on him and his house, and Israel said, I shall destroy it forever. Now Omri took the land 8. Medeba and occupied it [he and his son

[1] *The Moabite Stone; a Fac-simile of the Inscription, etc.* (Lond. 1870, pp. 1-45). It contains also the other translations referred to above and is illustrated by valuable notes. The translations of Prof Schlottmann and of M. de Vogüé will be found in *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, pp. 396-399 (1871).

and his son's] son, forty years. And Chemosh [had mercy] 9. on it in my days; and I built Baal Meon, and made therein the ditch and I [built] 10. Kirjathaim, for the men of Gad dwelled in the land [Atar]oth from of old, and the K[ing of I]srael fortified 11. A[t]aroth, and I assaulted the wall and captured it, and killed all the wa[rriors of] 12. the wall, for the well pleasing of Chemosh and Moab, and I removed from it all the spoil, and [of 13. fered] it before Chemosh in Kirjath, and I placed therein the men of Siran and the me[n of Zereth] 14. Shachar. And Chemosh said to me, Go take Nebo against Israel. [And I] 15. went in the night, and I fought against it from the break of dawn till noon, and I took 16. it, and slew in all seven thousand [men], but I did not kill the women 17. and [ma]idens, for [I] devoted [them] to Ashtar-Chemosh; and I took, from it 18. [the ves]sels of Jehovah and offered them before Chemosh. And the King of Israel fortif[ied] 19. Jahaz, and occupied it, when he made war against me; and Chemosh drove him out before [me and] 20. I took from Moab two hundred men, all chiefs, and fought against Jahaz, and took it, 21. in addition to Dibon. I built Karcha, the wall of the forest, and the wall 22. of the city, and I built the gates thereof, and I built the towers thereof, and I 23. built the palace, and I made the prisons for the men of . . . . with[in the] 24. wall. And there was no cistern within the wall in Karcha, and I said to all the people, Make for yourselves 25. every man a cistern in his house. And I dug the ditch for Karcha with the [chosen] men of 26. [Is]rael. I built Aroer and I made the road across the Arnon, 27. I built Beth-Bamoth, for it was destroyed; I built Bezer, for it was cu[t down] 28. by the fifty m[en] of Dibon, for all Dibon was now loyal; and I sav[ed] 29. [from my enemies] Bikran, which I added to my land, and I bui[lt] 30. [Beth-Gamul], and Beth-Diblathaim, and Beth-Baal-Meon, and I placed there the Mo[abites] 31. [to take possession of] the land. And Horonaim dwelt therein . . . . 32. And Chemosh said to me, Go down, make war against Horonaim, and ta[ke it] . . . . 33. Chemosh in my days 34. year and I . . . .

COMMENTARY.

The tablet thus translated is a commemorative record of the successes of Mesha, king of Moab, against the Israelites during a reign of forty years or more from about B. C. 925. Nearly two

thirds of the inscription relate to the deliverance of his land, in the latter part of his reign, from its vassalage to the dynasty of Omri. Hitherto, we have known very little concerning the relations between Moab and the Israelites during a period of nearly eighty years between the merciless subjugation of the Moabites by David (2 Sam. viii. 2, 11, 12; 1 Chr. xviii. 2, 11) and the notice of the revolt after the death of Ahab (2 K. i. 1; xiii. 5 *sq.*).

From the stone it would appear that Moab's subjection had not lasted during this whole period, but had ceased perhaps in the time of Solomon and had been reimposed by Omri who had made himself sovereign of the northern kingdom (B. C. 935). This tributary connection lasted through the greater part of Omri's dynasty, *i. e.* during the forty years of the stone, but came to an end under Jehoram who though aided by the kings of Judah and Edom and at times remarkably successful, was unable to quell the rebellion of the Edomite Mesha. This failure of the Israelite king seems to be obscurely admitted in 2 K. iii. 27. This deliverance of Moab and the subsequent public enterprises of Mesha which the stone records prepared the way for that long career of prosperity which contemporary and later Hebrew prophets recognize as enjoyed by them. (See Is. xv., xvi.; Jer. xlviii.; Dan. xi. 41; Am. ii. 1, 2.)

The following proper names are found both on the monument and in the Hebrew Scriptures: Mesha, Moab, Chamos or Chemos (national god of the Moabites), Omri, Kirjath, Israel, Medeba, Jahveh or Jehovah, Boroz or Bozreh, Kirjathaim, Gad, Ataroth, Sereth or Seban(?), Nebo, Ashtor, or Shemosh, David, Jatar, Dibon, Aroer, Arnon, Beth-Bamoth or Bamoth Bezer, Gamul, Beth-Diblathaim, and conjecturally some others.

These names both of persons and places common to the stone and the Hebrew history supplement and illustrate the two records, and show at the same time their independence of each other by the slight variations and obscurities which they reveal.

We may add further that the discovery of this stone confirms the passages of Scripture (1 Sam. vii. 12; xv. 12, and 2 Sam. viii. 13)[1] which imply that the Hebrews, like the Egyptians and

[1] In two of the passages the A. V. does not suggest the right meaning. In 1 Sam. xv. 12, it should be, "Set up a pillar or trophy, instead of 'place'" (see Fürst, *Hebr. Lex.* p. 539); and in 2 Sam. viii. 13, it should be "Set up a name, or monument," and not "gat him a

Assyrians, erected stones for commemorative purposes.[1] It encourages the hope that by perseverance, other similar discoveries may be made; it justifies the attempts made at the present time, by the Exploration Societies of England and of this country, to rescue as soon as possible from Arab violence and the ravages of time any similar monuments of sacred interest (and such undoubtedly there are) in the lands of the Bible.[2]

name." In 1 Sam. vii. 12, the monumental stone "Ebenezer" (*stone of help*), was Samuel's recognition of Jehovah's interposition for him which he would perpetuate to all time.

[1] On the palæographic value of this inscription the reader may see Prof. G. Rawlinson, on "the Moabite Stone" (*Contemporary Review*, Aug. 1870, London), and Rev. W. Ward under "Writing" in Smith's *Bibl. Dict.* iv. p. 3577 ff. (Amer. ed.), and *Bibl. Sacr.* art. iii. Oct. 1870.

[2] *Our Work in Palestine* (published by the *Exploration Fund*, Lond. 1872 and New York, 1873), states what their labors there have already accomplished, and what their plans and hopes are for the future.

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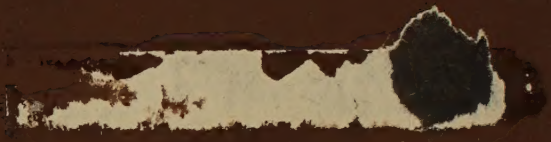

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